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**Crosby, Everett Uberto,** 1871–

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TO MARGARET

## *Other Writings by the Author*

CROSBY FISKE FORSTER HAND BOOK OF FIRE PROTECTION*
NINETY FIVE PER CENT PERFECT
NANTUCKET'S CHANGING PROSPERITY
BOOKS AND BASKETS SIGNS AND SILVER OF OLD TIME NANTUCKET
THE SPOON PRIMER
95% PERFECT ENLARGED EDITION
GOD TO ME
EASTMAN JOHNSON AT NANTUCKET

### *Miscellaneous Short Articles*

HOW TO CADDY AND HOW NOT TO. WILLIAMSBURG AND NANTUCKET. LITTLE GREY LADY. ONE VIEW OF THE JEW. EGO. LOTTERIES. EDUCATING THE DIVINITY STUDENT. GRADING OF EXECUTIVE AND SALES EMPLOYEES. REASONS FOR NON CHURCH ATTENDANCE. RESTRICTED SPRINKLER SCHEDULE. FIRE PROTECTION — ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA. PROPHETS OF DOOM. CONTROL OF THE ATOMIC BOMB (SIMILIA SIMILIBUS CURANTUR). PERSONAL OWNERSHIP OF SAVINGS. ALSO IN PROCEEDINGS OF THE NANTUCKET HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

*This international handbook was originated, and the first edition published by Mr. Crosby in 1896. Later editions were prepared by H. A. Fiske and H. W. Forster. Finally the book was given to the National Fire Protection Association which now publishes it, the last edition being the ninth.

# PREFACE

This book has three objectives.

Setting forth in condensed form what is known about the dates of earliest discovery and naming of the Island, as indicated by printed records.

Next a reprinting of all the earliest descriptive writings of the Island, most of which are not known to, or readily accessible to readers.

Third, the bringing to publication of a bibliography of Nantucket which has been some years in preparation.

The settlers and their followers were not concerned with the fine arts or literature. They were busy sheep raising and capturing the whale. Isolated from the world on a remote Island, the simple life of the predominant Quakers was for long a chief influence. Therefore most of the early writings were done by those from "off" who admired the character of the Islanders and the success and romance of their life at sea.

E. U. C.
April 2nd, 1946.

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# FIRST REFERENCES TO NANTUCKET

Those of us who have been much interested in Nantucket are almost sure to have wondered when the Island first came to be known of, and known about. What were the first mentions of it in print and on maps? When and how did the land itself come into being, and then the name which it bears?

## Indian Legends

One who enjoys believing in legends will find a satisfactory answer in two tales with which the first settlers were regaled by the native Indian residents. One accounts for the origin of the Island, and differs from Professor Shaler of the Geological Survey. It is as follows: Once upon a time there lived on the Atlantic coast a giant who used Cape Cod for his bed. One night being restless, he tossed from side to side till his moccasins were filled with sand. This so enraged him that, on rising in the morning, he flung the offending moccasins from his feet, one alighting to form Martha's Vineyard, while the other became the since famous Island of Nantucket.

The other Nantucket Indian legend very definitely describes the Island's discovery. A great many moons ago, a bird, extraordinary for its size, used often to visit the south shore of Cape Cod and carry from thence to the southward a vast number of small children. Maushop, who was an Indian giant, resided in those parts. Enraged at the havoc among the children he, on a certain time, waded into the sea in pursuit of the bird, till he had crossed the sound and reached Nantucket. Before Maushop forded the sound the Island was unknown to the aborigines of America. Maushop found the bones of the children in a heap under a large tree. He then, wishing to smoke a pipe, ransacked the Island for tobacco, but finding none, filled his pipe with poke, a weed which the Indians sometimes used as its substitute. Ever since the above memorable event, fogs have been frequent on the Cape and at times on Nantucket. In allusion to this tradition, when the aborigines observed a fog rising they would say: "There comes old Maushop's smoke".

The following are two more legends, the first from Martha's Vineyard, the second from the Elizabeth Isles. On one occasion Michabo, the Great White One, the Spirit of Light of the Dawn or the East, had an offering made to him, by his subjects on Martha's

Vineyard, and, filling his great hopuonk or pipe, he sat down in front of his "den", and enjoyed this huge smoke. After taking his fill of this diversion, he turned over the bowl and knocked the ashes from it, and as they were carried by the wind to the eastward they fell in a heap and formed the island of Nantucket which was known as the "Devil's Ash Heap".

The natives of the Elizabeth islands say that "the Devell was making a stone bridge over the main to Nanamesit Island, and while he was rowling the stones and placing them under water, a crab catched him by the fingers, with which he snatched up his hand and flung it towards Nantucket, and the crabs breed there ever since."

## EARLY EXPLORERS

The earliest explorers from Europe, who sailed to some point on, or voyaged up and down the New England coast, avoided coming to the Island, or specifically mentioning it. When they made any record it was a general one of islands off the south shore of what is now Massachusetts. These were chiefly the Elizabeth islands, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket. This was the case with the Norsemen, c.1004, Cabot, 1498, Verrazzano, 1524, Gomez, 1525, as well as others during the balance of the century. It was not until the voyages of Gosnold in 1602 and Waymouth in 1605, that the Island was first alluded to in print, although even then no landing was recorded, nor was the Island named. As these two visits are important to the history of Nantucket, the following summary of them is quoted from a paper entitled *Discoverers of Nantucket,* by Everett U. Crosby in 1943 Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association.

1602—Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, England, to near Portland, Maine, thence south to Cape Cod, then around the cape headland and by the two sand points on the east side of the Cape which are now washed away, and thereafter found himself amongst many islands, of which Nantucket must have been one. He came to anchor under one of them, perhaps Martha's Vineyard, and then sailed on to Cuttyhunk and after a few weeks set sail and bore for England. He gave the latter island the name "Elizabeth's Ile," which name is now applied to a chain of islands in that vicinity. Also on their voyage Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard were named.

Brereton, who sailed with Gosnold, describes the voyage and the following is quoted from his description when he was in the vicinity of Nantucket: "From this place (Provincetown) we sailed around

about headland, almost on all points of the compass, the shore very bold, but as no coast is free from dangers so I am persuaded this is as free as any. The land seemed low, full of goodly woods, but in some places plain. At length we were come amongst many faire islands, all lying within a league or two of one another and the outermost not more than six or seven leagues from the maine, but going to anker under one of them, we went ashore, etc., etc." It is reported there is a note in the margin of the original which reads: "The first island called Marthaes Vineyard." Some believe it to have been Noman's Land.

Another narrative, by Gabriel Archer, who made the voyage, when reporting the same part of the voyage, states: "We trended the coast southerly which was all champaign and full of grasse but the islands somewhat woodie." He gives a longer description of the passage from Cape Cod to Cuttyhunk, with the mention of various islands and shoals and passages. One or another of these islands may have been Nantucket.

Gosnold is generally given credit in the books about Nantucket as being the first English discoverer of the Island. However, one can not but realize that it is very easy to cruise the whole shore of Cape Cod into Vineyard Sound without sighting Nantucket, particularly in shallow draught boats near to the Cape Cod shore.

1605—George Waymouth sailed from Dartmouth, England, and ultimately finding himself in shoal water "sent one to the top who thence described a whitish, sandy cliffe." He tried with a small boat to find an entrance through the shoals without success. This he reports, was in the Lat. 41 degrees, 20 minutes. So they put back and out to sea, and parted from the land and duly reached the coast of Maine. The latitude is that of Nantucket and the "whitish, sandy cliffe" corresponds to Sankaty Head. This is generally regarded as the most definite locating of the Island thus far made in a contemporary narrative.

1606—-Champlain on his voyage along the Maine and Massachusetts coasts got as far as Woods Hole but left no record indicating a knowledge of Nantucket.

1609—Henry Hudson, sailing south on the New England coast reached shoals off the elbow of Cape Cod, put to sea to avoid them and after three weeks reached Delaware, sailed north to the Hudson River and then went to sea for the return to England.

1610—Samuel Argall, sailing south, sighted a headland and had difficulty in getting clear of the shoals easterly from Nantucket Sound. Then he sailed to Virginia.

1611—Edward Harlow came from England intending to explore about Cape Cod. He captured two Indians at Capawe (Martha's Vineyard?)

1614—Capt. John Smith did not go south of Cape Cod; viz, did not see Nantucket.

1614—Adriaen Block in a small "yacht" sailed for exploration from Manhattan through Long Island Sound. He caused the naming of Block Island and of Texal (Martha's Vineyard). Block Island is presumed to be the island previously named "Louisa" by Verrazzano and later "Claudia". If he sailed to the north of Cape Cod he very likely kept outside Nantucket Island and shoals.

1619—Derner voyaged south from Maine, landed at Martha's Vineyard (Capaock).

1620—The Pilgrims made their landfall at Cape Cod rather than Virginia as intended. They started down the east shore of the Cape but soon encountered the fearsome shoals toward the elbow of Cape Cod. So they turned about and reached Plymouth via Provincetown. Thus they failed of the opportunity to settle at Nantucket which had just as good a rock (Wesco) as Plymouth.

## NAMING OF THE ISLANDS IN THE EARLIEST DEEDS AND GRANTS

In 1621 King James I, created the Plymouth Company which, in 1635, conveyed to William, Earl of Stirling, a part of Maine, together with Long Island (New York) and the adjacent islands (including those south of Cape Cod.)

In 1641, James Forrett, the agent of Lord Stirling, granted to Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., his son, "Nantuckett and two small islands adjacent" (presumably Tuckanuck and Gravely Island). The same month he also conveyed to the Mayhews, "Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth's Isles."

Sir Fferdinand Gorges had also received on dissolution of the Plymouth Company in 1635, a district in Maine which it was claimed included islands south of Cape Cod; therefore Thomas Mayhew, to improve his title, obtained from the agent of Gorges the same month in 1641, a conveyance reading in part as follows:

"I Richard Vines, Steward for Sir Fferdinand Gorges, Knt, Lord Proprietor of ye province of MAYNE LAND and ye Islands of Capawock and Nantican, doe by these Presents give full Power and Authority unto Thomas Mayhew, Gent: his Heyres and Associates, to plant and inhabitt upon ye Islands of Capawock als Martha's Vineyard . . . ."

Thomas Mayhew, Jr. settled at Martha's Vineyard in 1642, and his father in 1644. In 1659, Thomas Mayhew of "Martin's Vineyard" sold "Tuckanuck Island als Tuckanuckett". In 1664 a deed mentioned "those Islands known by the name of Martha's Vineyard and Nantukes otherwise Nantuckett."

The name Martin was occasionally substituted for Martha for no known cause, indeed there may have been no reason, just the prevalent habit of corrupt spelling. It was abandoned in a few decades.

## THE NAME OF NANTUCKET ON EARLY MAPS

The earliest maps which showed the coast line in the region of Nantucket were mostly Dutch and English.

Their makers paid little or no attention to our islands located just south of Massachusetts, which when depicted, were wrongly shaped, wrongly located in respect to one another and the main, and wrongly named.

This was quite natural, as the exploring mariners were seeking the North West Passage, or Maine, or Virginia or parts of the continent and not a few small islands, which they often chose to avoid because of the shoals and tides about them.

The map makers got their data from the verbal and written statements of the mariners, not from a survey by them or an accurate description. Without copyright protection they took what they wanted from each others maps. An error once perpetrated was apt to be repeated for many decades.

What appears to be a native Indian name was first applied to our Island.

Inga & Briggs map of about 1620 showed an island of the Nantucket location called "Caupaw".

Goos, about 1626 shows an island marked Caupaw.

In the Purchas history of voyages, edition of 1625, the first one with maps, there was a map made by Elstracke. It named these islands from east to west: "Caupaw (presumably Nantucket), Martha's Vineyard & Elizabeths I".

The so-called "Velasco Map" of 1610 (named for the Spanish Ambassador who got the map in London) shows C. Cod, Marthey Vineyard, Elizabeths Ile and Claudia (probably Block Island), but Nantucket Island is not shown.

1630 was the date of publication of the map by de Laet, entitled Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium et Virginia. This showed C. Cod, Natocko (presumably Nantucket), Petockenock (allegedly Tuckernuck) and Kotget (probably Gravelly island or Muskeget).

From then on the name of Natocko, with various spellings, and shortly thereafter Nantucket, came into general use. There are some two dozen spellings of these words.

The names Tuckernuck, Muskeget, and Gravelly Island, were not used on the early maps, but small islands west of Nantucket were at times shown and variously marked, viz., Sturgeon Island, Petockenock and Kotget.

Texel and Vlieland are Dutch islands and their names were freely applied to islands all the way from Block Island to Nantucket, and then shifted to different islands.

The first community settlement of the Island by the whites was at Capaum on the north shore, west of the present water tower. It was a small harbor open to the sea but later closed by the shifting sands to become Capaum Pond. One must observe the likeness of this name and the one first applied to the Island on a map.

# LETTERS AND JOURNALS OF MISSIONARIES AND PREACHERS

These constitute the earliest writings of a descriptive nature about Nantucket. They contain little information except as to the number of Indian "souls" converted by the first itinerant evangelists commencing with the Mayhews in the 1640s. These missionaries came from Martha's Vineyard and from the mainland, and were Baptists and Presbyterians.

A little later, commencing around 1700, Quaker preachers arrived for short visits. Their letters or journals recount little beyond what they seemed to consider as their success in causing an awakening of the spirit.

The following two are printed as typical of such writings.

## PRAYING INDIANS—GOOKIN'S HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS—1674

*From Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1st Series, Vol. 1.*

And for Nantucket, there is a church which relates to me. They as I said, first joined into full worship here, and since became a church orderly, and is increased. Upon that island are many praying Indians. Also the families of that island are about three hundred. I have oftentimes accounted the families of both islands; and have very often, these thirty-two years, been at Nantucket.

Concerning the island of Nantucket, and the work of God among the Indians, besides what is above expressed in Mr. Mayhew's letter, take the following account. This island of Nantucket we have described in a former book, and therefore shall omit it here. The first light of the gospel that came to this island, was by means of Mess'rs. Thomas Mayhew, father and son; and also by Hiacoomes, now pastor of one of the churches upon that Vineyard. The Indians upon this island sow English as well as Indian corn, spin and knit stockings, and are more industrious than many other Indians. The truth is, the Indians, both upon the Vineyard and Nantucket are poor; and, according as the scripture saith, do more readily receive the gospel and become religious. The rules of religion teach them to be diligent and industrious; and the diligent hand maketh rich, and adds no sorrow with it.

Upon September the 4th, 1674, I spoke with some of the principal Indians of Nantucket; particularly with John Gibbs, alias Assasammoogh, pastor of the Indian church there; and with Caleb, alias

Weekochisit, one of their teachers and a sagamore's son. These two persons informed me, that there is one church at Nantucket, whereof John Gibbs aforesaid is pastor: that there is about thirty men and women in full communion in the church, whereof twenty are men: that there is about forty children and youths baptized: and that there is about three hundred Indians, young and old, who pray to God and keep the sabbath upon the island: that they meet to worship God at three places, viz. Oggawame where the church meets, at Wammasquid, and Squatesit: that there are four Indian teachers upon that island, viz. John Gibbs pastor, Joseph, Samuel, and Caleb, who also teacheth school. This Caleb is one of them, that gave me this information. He earnestly desires to learn to read and understand English; and intreated me to procure him an English bible which accordingly he had by order of the Commissioners.

A further account of Nantucket Indians take in part of Mr. Cotton's letter, dated 14th. of September, 1674.

"At Nantucket, according to my best intelligence, there are three praying towns; and praying Indians, about three hundred males and females; one church, the pastor is John Gibbs; the men in church fellowship are about twenty; the women, ten. Their children are all baptized. The English upon that island, who are about twenty-seven families, and many of them Anabaptists, did at first seek to hinder them from administering baptism to infants; but now they are quiet, and meddle not with them. Caleb is preacher to one town there."

In the year 1694, the Indians on Nantucket were about five hundred adults. There were five assemblies of praying Indians, and three churches; two Congregational, and one of Baptists. (Gardener's Let. in Mather's Magn. Book vi. pag. 56.) Three hundred and fifty-eight Indians were remaining the 16th of the eighth month, 1763, when a fever began among them, and lasted till the 16th of the second month, 1764. Of this distemper two hundred and twenty-two died. (See Hutch. Hist. vol. 1. pag. 35). The Indians on the island are now reduced to four males and sixteen females. (M. S. of Friend Zaccheus Macy.)

## EXTRACTS FROM DIARY OF JOHN WOOLMAN

*A Quaker Preacher*

1st. day, 11th. month, 1743. From Newport we sailed to Nantucket; were there near a week.

April 24, 1760. After the yearly-meeting, we were at meetings at Newtown, Cushnet, Long-Plain, Rochester and Dartmouth: from thence we sailed for Nantucket in company with Ann Guant and Mercy Redman and several other friends: the wind being slack, we only reached Tarpawling-Cove the first day; where, going on shore, we found room in a public-house, and beds for a few of us, the rest sleeping on the floor: we went on-board again about the break of day; and, though the wind was small, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then, about ten of us getting into our boat, we rowed to the harbour before dark; whereupon a large boat, going off, brought in the rest of the passengers about midnight: the next day but one was their yearly-meeting, which held four days; the last of which was their monthly-meeting for business. We had a laborious time amongst them: our minds were closely exercised, and I believe it was a time of great searching of heart; the longer I was on the island, the more I became sensible that there was a considerable number of valuable friends there, though an evil spirit, tending to strife, had been at work amongst them: I was cautious of making any visits, but as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had some sittings in friends houses, where the heavenly wing was, at times, spread over us, to our mutual comfort. My beloved companion had very acceptable service on this island.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to sail the next day, if the weather was suitable and we well; and, being called up the latter part of the night, we went on board a vessel, being in all about fifty; but, the wind changing, the seamen thought best to stay in the harbour till it altered; so we returned onshore; and, feeling clear as to any farther visits, I spent my time in our chamber chiefly alone; and after some hours, my heart being filled with the spirit of supplication, my prayers and tears were poured out, before my heavenly father, for his help and instruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life: and, while I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a messenger from the women friends, who lodged at another house, desiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared

weighty, as we had been at so many before; but, after a short conference, and advising with some elderly friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the friend, who first moved it, and who had been much shut up before was largely opened in the love of the gospel: and the next morning, about break of day, going again onboard the vessel, we reached Falmouth on the main before night; where our horses being brought, we proceeded toward Sandwich quarterly-meeting.

Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I observed many shoals in their bay, which make sailing more dangerous, especially in stormy nights; also, that a great shoal, which encloses their harbour, prevents their going in with sloops, except when the tide is up; waiting without which, for the rising of the tide, is sometimes hazardous in storms; waiting within, they sometimes miss a fair wind. I took notice, that on that small island was a great number of inhabitants and the soil not very fertile; the timber so gone, that for vessels, fences and firewood, they depend chiefly on the buying from the Main; the cost whereof, with most of their other expenses, they depend principally upon the whale-fishery to answer. I considered, that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters more cleared, timber and wood would require more labour to get it: I understood that the whales being much hunted, grew more shy and difficult to come at.

## PETER FOLGER

Peter Folger was one of the Island's earliest settlers, coming in 1663 from Martha's Vineyard to Nantucket, then called Sherborne, the name not being changed until 1795. He became a foremost citizen, being teacher, surveyor, Indian interpretor, Clerk of the General Court, land commissioner, and Baptist preacher.

In 1676 he wrote *A Looking Glass for the Times*. This is discussed in a paper by Everett U. Crosby titled *Three Men and Three Centuries,* in the 1945 Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association, from which we quote in part as follows:

The only known intact issue of this tract, printed in 1763, is at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. There is an imperfect copy of this 1763 edition with the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

It is in doggerel verse and criticizes the authorities for their restriction of freedom of religion and speech. It might readily have subjected the author to arrest or persecution, which probably would have been the fate of a publisher, which may explain why it was not printed at the time and probably for many years afterwards, although it was copied in long hand many times contemporaneously and in subsequent years.

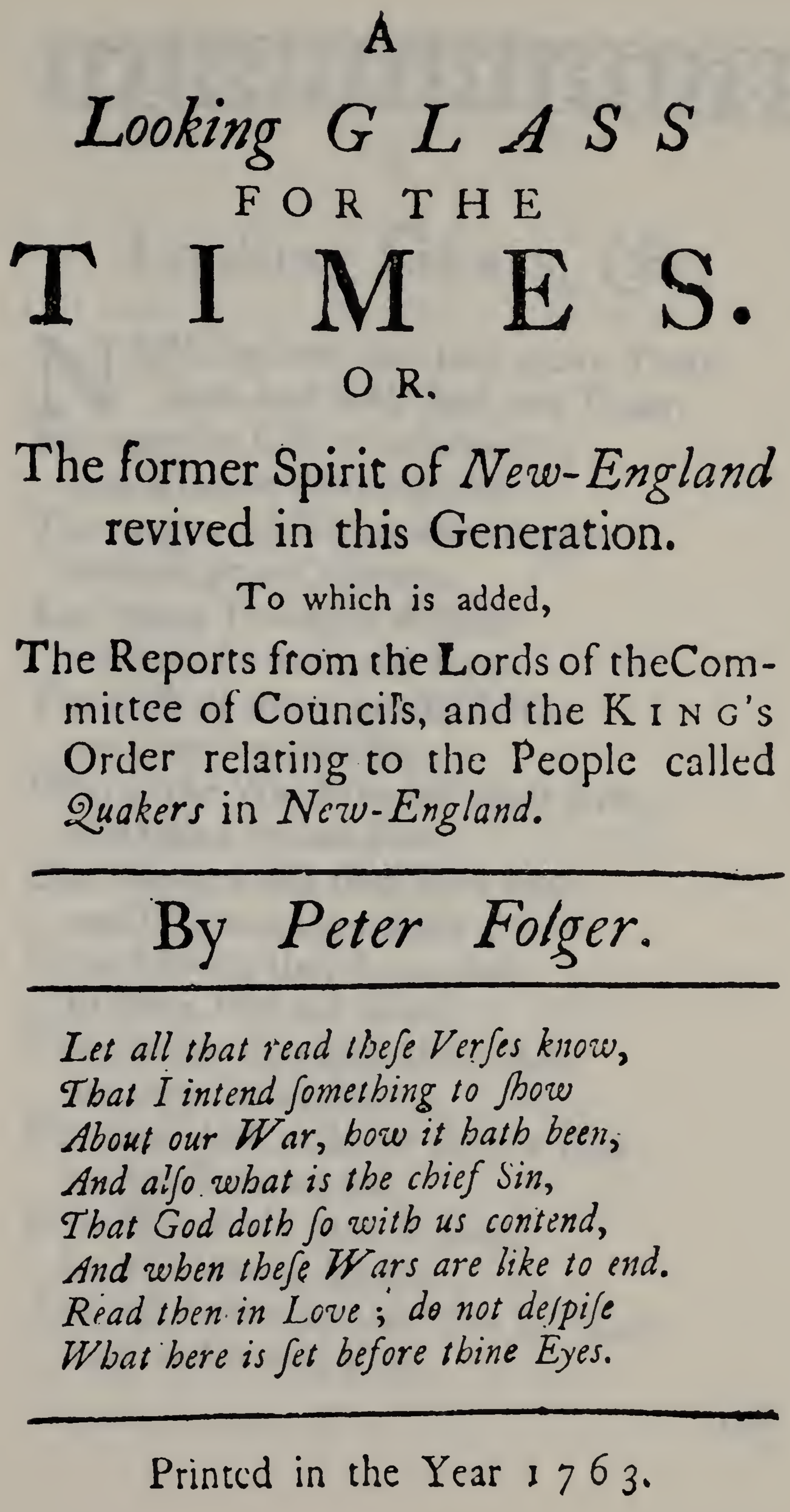
Peter Folger was the grandfather of Benjamin Franklin and the latter in his memoirs, now referred to as his Autobiography, says of Peter: "My mother, the second wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger one of the first settlers of New England, of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton Mather in his church history of that country as a 'godly, learned Englishman', if I remember the words rightly. I have heard that he wrote sundry small occasional pieces but only one of them was printed, which I saw not many years since. It was written in 1675 in the homespun verse of that time and people and addressed to those then concerned in the government there."

Franklin wrote his memoirs at four different times. The original printing of the first part was in French, at Paris, by Busson in 1791. On page 11 is stated "il l'ecrivit en 1675".

This was promptly translated into English and printed in London in 1793, 1794 and subsequently. It was badly translated in many particulars. The French word meaning "written" was translated "printed" which fault seems to have started the erroneous understanding that

there had been an edition printed in the year 1675. Naturally, it was much sought for and has never been discovered, while the original manuscript has been found and is now the property of the Huntington Library, in California. It confirms the statement that the word was "written" and not "printed" or "published".

More recent printings of the autobiography have corrected this error, as see the John Bigelow Works of Franklin published in 1868.



# A
# *Looking* GLASS
# FOR THE
# TIMES.

## OR,

## The former Spirit of *New-England* revived in this Generation.

To which is added,

The Reports from the Lords of the Committee of Council's, and the KING's Order relating to the People called *Quakers* in *New-England*.

---

By *Peter Folger.*

---

*Let all that read theſe Verſes know,*
*That I intend ſomething to ſhow*
*About our War, how it hath been,*
*And alſo what is the chief Sin,*
*That God doth ſo with us contend,*
*And when theſe Wars are like to end.*
*Read then in Love; do not deſpiſe*
*What here is ſet before thine Eyes.*

---

Printed in the Year 1763.

A
# Looking GLASS
FOR THE
# TIMES.
OR

The former Spirit of New England
revived in this Generation.

To which is added,

The Supreme Power of the Earth and the Connections of Councils, and the King's
Order relating to the People called
Quakers in New-England.

---

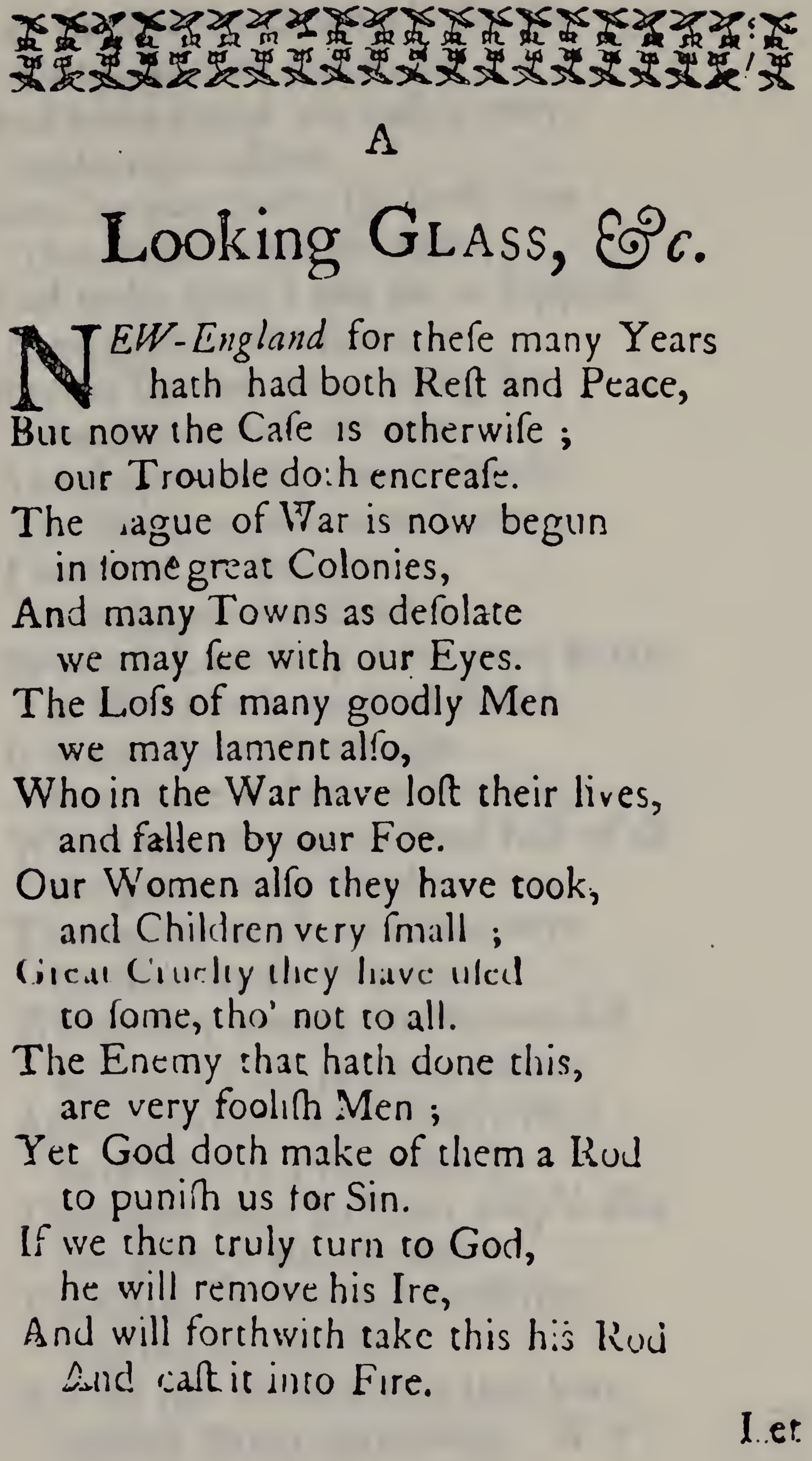
## By Peter Folger.

---

Let all that read these Verses know,
That I intend something to show
About our War, how it hath been,
And also what is the chief sin,
That God doth so with us contend,
And when these Wars are like to end.
Read them in love; do not despise
What here is set before your eyes.

---

Printed in the Year 1676.



## A

# Looking GLASS, &c.

N*EW-England* for theſe many Years
hath had both Reſt and Peace,
But now the Caſe is otherwiſe ;
our Trouble doth encreaſe.
The Plague of War is now begun
in ſome great Colonies,
And many Towns as deſolate
we may ſee with our Eyes.
The Loſs of many goodly Men
we may lament alſo,
Who in the War have loſt their lives,
and fallen by our Foe.
Our Women alſo they have took,
and Children very ſmall ;
Great Cruelty they have uſed
to ſome, tho' not to all.
The Enemy that hath done this,
are very fooliſh Men ;
Yet God doth make of them a Rod
to puniſh us for Sin.
If we then truly turn to God,
he will remove his Ire,
And will forthwith take this his Rod
And caſt it into Fire.

Let

Let us then ſearch what is the Sin
  that God doth puniſh for ;
And when found out caſt it away,
  and ever it abhor.
Sure 'tis not chiefly for thoſe Sins
  that Magiſtrates do name,
And make good Laws for to ſuppreſs,
  and execute the ſame.
But 'tis for that ſame crying Sin,
  that Rulers will not own,
And that whereby much Cruelty
  to brethren hath been ſhown :
The Sin of Perſecution
  ſuch Laws eſtabliſhed ;
By which Laws they have gone ſo far,
  as Blood hath touched Blood.
It is now Forty Years ago,
  ſince ſome of theſe were made,
Which was the Ground and Riſe of all
  the perſecuting Trade.
Then many worthy Perſons were
  baniſhed to the Woods,
Where they among the Natives did
  loſe their moſt precious Bloods.
And ſince that, many Godly Men
  have been to Priſon ſent ;
They have been fin'd and whip'd alſo,
  and ſuffer'd Baniſhment.
The Cauſe of this their Suffering
  was not for any Sin,
But for the Witneſs that they bare
  againſt Babes Sprinkling. A 2 Of

Of later time there hath been ſome
  Men come into this Land,
To warn the Rulers of their Sins,
  as I do underſtand.
They call'd on all, both great and ſmall,
  to fear God and repent;
And for their Teſtimonies thus
  they ſuffer'd Puniſhment.
Yea, ſome of them they did affirm,
  that they were ſent of God
To teſtify to great and ſmall,
  that God would ſend his Rod
Againſt thoſe Colonies, becauſe
  they did make Laws not good;
And if thoſe Laws were not repeal'd,
  the end would be in Blood.
And tho' that theſe were harmleſs Men,
  and did no hurt to any,
But lived well like honeſt Men,
  as teſtify'd by many;
Yet did theſe Laws entrap them ſo,
  that they were put to Death,
And could not have the Liberty
  to ſpeak near their laſt Breath.
But theſe Men were, as I have heard,
  againſt our *College Men*;
And this was out of doubt to me,
  that which was moſt their Sin.
They did reprove all *Hirelings*,
  with a moſt Sharp Reproof,
Becauſe they knew not how to preach,
  till ſure of Means enough.                Now

Now to the Sufferings of theſe Men,
 I have but gave a hint ;
Becauſe that in *George Biſhop*'s Book
 you may ſee all in print.
But may we know the Counſellors
 that brought our Rulers in,
To be ſo guilty as they are,
 of the aforeſaid Sin ?
They were the Tribe of Miniſters,
 as they are ſaid to be,
Who always to our Magiſtrates
 muſt be the Eyes to ſee.
Theſe are the Men that by their Wits,
 have ſpun ſo fair a Thread,
That now themſelves and others are
 of Natives in a Dread.
What need is there of ſuch a Fear,
 if we have done no Ill ?
But 'tis becauſe that we have been
 not doing of God's Will.
When *Cain* had ſlain his Brother, then
 began this Fear to be,
That every Man would do to him
 the ſame that did him ſee.
The Scripture doth declare the Cauſe
 why *Cain* did kill his Brother ;
It was becauſe the Deeds of one
 was good, and not the other.
Becauſe that God did Favour ſhow
 To *Abel* more than he,
That was in verity the thing
 that Envy could not ſee. Then

Then let us all, both great and ſmall
take heed how we do fight
Againſt the Spirit of the Lord,
which is our higheſt Light.
Let Magiſtrates and Miniſters
conſider what they do ;
Let them repeal thoſe evil Laws,
and break thoſe Bands in two,
Which have been made as Traps and Snares
to catch the Innocents,
And whereby it has gone ſo far,
to Acts of Violence.
I ſee you write your ſelves in Print,
*the Balm of Gilead* ;
Then do not act as if you were
like Men that are half mad.
If you can heal the Land, what is
the Cauſe things are ſo bad ?
I think inſtead of that, you make
the Hearts of People ſad.
Is this a Time for you to preſs,
to draw the Blood of thoſe
That are your Neighbours and your Friends,
as if you had no Foes.
Yea, ſome there are, as I have heard,
have lately found out Tricks
To put the Cauſe of all the War
upon the *Hereticks*,
Or rather on ſome Officers,
that now begin to ſlack
The Execution of thoſe Laws,
whoſe Conſequence is black. I

I do affirm to you, if that
  be really your mind,
You muſt go turn another Leaf,
  before that Peace you find.
Now loving Friends and Country-Men,
  I wiſh we may be wiſe ;
Tis now a time for every Man
  to ſee with his own Eyes.
'Tis eaſy to provoke the Lord
  to ſend among us War ;
'Tis eaſy to do Violence,
  to envy and to jar ;
To ſhew a Spirit that is high,
  to ſcorn and domineer;
To pride it out, as if there were,
  no God to make us fear ;
To covet what is not our own,
  to cheat and to oppreſs ;
To live a Life that might free us
  from Acts of Righteouſneſs ;
To ſwear and lie, and to be drunk,
  to backbite one another ;
To carry Tales that may do hurt
  and Miſchief to our Brother !
To live in ſuch Hypocriſy,
  as Men may think us good,
Although our Hearts within are full
  of Evil, and of Blood.
All theſe and many Evils more
  are eaſy for to do ;
But to repent, and to reform,
  we have no Strength unto.

Let

Let us then ſeek for help from God,
  and turn to him that ſmite ;
Let us take heed, that at no time,
  we ſin againſt our Light.
Let's bear our teſtimony plain
  'gainſt Sin in High and Low ;
And ſee that we no Cowards be,
  to hide the Light we know.
When *Jonathan* is call'd to Court,
  ſhall we as Stander's by,
Be ſtill and have no Word to ſpeak,
  but ſuffer him to die ?
If that you ſay you cannot help,
  things will be as they are ;
I tell you true, tis plain and clear,
  thoſe Words may come from fear.
That you ſhall loſe ſome carnal things,
  if you do ſpeak for God ;
And here you go the neareſt way
  to taſte deep of his Rod.
'Tis true, there are ſome times indeed
  of Silence to the Meek ;
Not ever, for the Lord doth ſay,
  there is a time to ſpeak.
Be vigilant then for to ſee
  the movings of your heart,
And you will know right well the time
  when you ſhall act your Part.
I would not have you for to think,
  tho' I have wrote ſo much,
That I hereby do throw a Stone
  at Magiſtrates *as ſuch.*

The

The Rulers in the Country I
do own them in the Lord;
And ſuch as are for Government,
with them I do accord.
But that which I intend hereby,
is that they would keep bound,
And meddle not with God's Worſhip,
for which they have no ground.
And I am not alone herein,
there's many hundreds more
That have for many Years ago
ſpake much upon that Score.
Indeed I really believe
it's not your Buſineſs
To meddle with the Church of Chriſt,
in Matters more or leſs.
There's work enough to do beſides,
to judge in *mine* and *thine*,
To ſuccour Poor and Fatherleſs,
that is the Work in fine.
And I do think that now you find
enough of that to do;
Much more at ſuch a Time as this,
as there is War alſo.
Indeed I count it very low,
for People in theſe Days,
To aſk the Rulers for their leave
to ſerve God in his Ways.
I count it worſe in Magiſtrates
to uſe the Iron Sword,
To do that Work which Chriſt alone
will do by his own Word.
The Church may now go ſtay at home,
there's nothing for to do;

Their Work is all cut out by Law,
and almoſt made up too.
Now Reader, leaſt you ſhould miſtake,
in what I ſaid before
Concerning Miniſter's, I think
to write a few Words more.
I would not have you for to think
that I am ſuch a Fool,
To write againſt Learning, as ſuch,
or to cry down a School.
But 'tis that *Popiſh College* way,
that I intend hereby,
Where Men are mew'd up in a Cage,
fit for all Villany.
But I ſhall leave this puddle Stuff
to Neighbours at the Door,
That can ſpeak more unto ſuch things,
upon a knowing Score.
And now theſe Men though ne'er ſo bad,
when they have learn'd their Trade,
They muſt come in and bear a Part,
whatever Laws are made.
I can't but wonder for to ſee
our Magiſtrates and Wiſe,
That they ſit ſtill, and ſuffer them
to ride on them, not riſe,
And ſtir them up to do that Work,
that Scripture Rule there wants,
To perſecute and perſecute
thoſe that they judge are Saints.
There's one thing more that I believe
is worſe than all the reſt,
They vilify the Spirit of God,
and count School Learning beſt.

If

If that a Boy hath learn'd his Trade,
  and can the Spirit diſgrace,
Then he is lifted up on high,
  and needs muſt have a Place.
But I ſhall leave this dirty Stuff,
  and give but here a hint,
Becauſe that you have *Cradock*'s Book,
  and may ſee more in Print.
There are ſome few, it may be, that
  are clear of this ſame Trade;
And of thoſe Men, I only ſay,
  theſe Verſes are not made.
Now for the length of time, how long
  theſe Wars are like to be,
I may ſpeak ſomething unto that,
  if Men will reaſon ſee.
The Scripture doth point out the time,
  and 'tis as we do chuſe,
For to obey the Voice of God,
  or elſe for to refuſe.
The Prophet *Jeremy* doth ſay,
  when War is threatned ſore,
That if Men do repent and turn,
  God will afflict no more.
But ſuch a turning unto God,
  as is but Verbally,
When Men refuſe for to reform,
  it is not worth a fly.
'Tis hard for you, as I do hear,
  though you be under Rod,
To ſay to *Iſrael Go, you,*
  *and ſerve the Lord your God.*
Though you do many Prayers make,
  and add Faſting thereto,

Yet if your Hands be full of Blood,
all this will never do.
The end that God doth ſend his Sword,
is that we might amend ;
Then if that we reform aright,
the War will ſhortly end.
*New-England* they are like the *Jews*,
as like, as like can be ;
They made large Promiſes to God,
at home and at the Sea :
They did proclaim free Liberty,
they cut the Calf in twain,
They paſt between the Part thereof :
O this was all in vain !
For ſince they came into this Land,
they floated to and fro,
Sometimes their Brethren may be free,
while hence to Priſon go.
According as the times to go,
and Weather is abroad,
So we can ſerve our ſelves ſometimes,
and ſometimes ſerve the Lord.
But let us hear what God doth ſay
to ſuch backſliding Men,
That can with Eaſe ſo break their Vows,
and ſoon go back again. *Jer.* 34.
He ſaith he will proclaim for them,
a Freedom to the Sword,
Becauſe they would not fear him ſo
as to obey his Word.
This Liberty unto the Sword,
he hath proclaim'd for us,
And we are like to feel it long,
if Matters do go thus.

'Tis

'Tis better for our Magiſtrates,
to ſhorten time, I ſay,
By breaking of thoſe Bands in two,
that look an evil way.
You do profeſs your ſelves to be
Men that do pray always,
Then do not keep ſuch evil Laws,
as may ſerve at wet Days.
If that the Peace of God did rule
with Power in our Heart,
Then outward War would flee away,
and Reſt would be our Part.
If we could love our Brethren,
and do to them, I ſay,
As we would they ſhould do to us,
we ſhould be quiet ſtraightway.
But if that we a ſmiting go
of Fellow-Servants ſo,
No marvel if our Wars encreaſe,
and things ſo heavy go.
'Tis like that ſome may think and ſay,
our War would not remain,
If ſo be that a thouſand more
of Natives were but ſlain.
Alaſs ! theſe are but fooliſh thoughts,
God can make more ariſe,
And if that there were none at all,
he can make War with Flys.
It is the Preſence of the Lord
muſt make our Foes to ſhake,
Or elſe it's like he will e'er long,
know how to make us quake.
Let us lie low before the Lord,
in all Humility,

And

And then we ſhall with *Aſa* ſee
our Enemies to fly.
But if that we do leave the Lord,
and truſt in Fleſhly Arm,
Then 'tis no wonder if that we
do hear more News of Harm.
Let's have our Faith and Hope in God,
and truſt in him alone,
And then no doubt this Storm of War
it quickly will be gone.
Thus Reader, I in Love to all,
leave theſe few Lines with thee,
Hoping that in the Subſtance we
ſhall very well agree.
If that you do miſlike the Verſe,
for its uncomely Dreſs,
I tell thee true, I never thought
that it would paſs the Preſs.
If any at the Matter kick,
it's like he's gall'd at Heart,
And that's the Reaſon why he kicks,
becauſe he finds it ſmart.
I am for Peace, and not for War,
and that's the Reaſon why
I write more plain than ſome Men do,
that uſe to daub and lie.
But I ſhall ceaſe and ſet my Name
to what I here inſert,
Becauſe to be a Libeller,
I hate it with my Heart.
From * *Sherbon* Town, where now I dwell,
my Name I do put here,
Without Offence your real Friend,
it is PETER FOLGER. *April* 23. 1676.

---

* *Nantucket.*

1779195

# *APPENDIX.*

At the Court at St. *JAMES's*, the 2d Day of *June* 1724.

PRESENT,

The KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.
A. B. of Canterbury.
Lord Chancellor.
Lord Preſident.
Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Chamberlain.
Duke of Roxburg.
Duke of Newcaſtle.
Earl of Weſtmorland.
Lord Viſc. Townſhend.
Lord Viſc. Torrington.
Mr. Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.
Mr. Vice Chamberlain
William Pultney, Eſq;

UPON reading this Day at the Board, a Report from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Councils, upon the Petition of *Thomas Richardſon* and *Richard Partridge*, on behalf of *Joſeph Anthony*, *John Siſſon*, *John Akin*, and *Phillip Taber*, Priſoners in the common Goal at *New Briſtol*, in his Majeſty's Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay* in *New England*, for not aſſeſſing the Inhabitants of the Towns of *Dartmouth* and *Tiverton*, the additional Taxes of one Hundred Pounds, and Seventy two Pounds eleven Shillings, impoſed upon them by an Act paſſed there in the Year 1722, which appears to be for the Maintenance of Preſbyterian Miniſters, who are not of their Perſwaſion; and alſo in behalf of their Friends called Quakers in general, who are frequently under great Sufferings for Conſcience ſake in that Government: By which Report it appears, that their Lordſhips are of Opinion, that it may be adviſable for his Majeſty to remit the ſaid additional Taxes, ſo impoſed on the ſaid two Towns, and to diſcharge the ſaid Perſons from Goal.

His Majeſty in Council taking the ſaid Report into Conſideration, is graciouſly pleaſed to approve thereof, and hereby to remit the ſaid additional Taxes of one Hundred Pounds, and Seventy two Pounds eleven Shillings, which were by the ſaid Act to be aſſeſſed on the ſaid Towns of *Dartmouth* & *Tiverton*. And his Majeſty is hereby further pleaſed to order, that the ſaid *Joſeph Anthony*, *John Siſſon* *John Akin*, & *Phillip Taber*, be immediately releaſed from their Impriſonment on account thereof. And the Governour, Lieutenant Governour,

and

and Commander in Chief for the time being, of his Majeſty's ſaid Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, and all others whom it may concern, are to take Notice, & yield due Obedience hereunto *Temple Stanyan.*

*To the KING's moſt Excellent Majeſty,*
*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

IN Obedience to an Order in Council from the late Lords Juſtices, during your Majeſty's Abſence abroad, bearing date the 24th day of *October* laſt, we did make a Repreſentation upon an Act paſs'd in the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay* in *New-England* in 1722. entituled, *An Act for apportioning and aſſeſſing a Tax of Six Thouſand two Hundred thirty two Pounds thirteen Shillings & eleven Pence.* Since which Time another Act mention'd in the ſaid Order of Reference. paſſed the 29th day of *May*, 1723. entituled. *An Act for apportioning and aſſeſſing a Tax of Six Thouſand two Hundred and five Pounds fifteen Shillings & ſeven Pence Half-Peny*, is come to our Hands; by which Act a Tax is laid in expreſs Terms upon the Inhabitants of *Dartmouth* and *Tiverton*, for the Support of a Preſbyterian, whom they call an Orthodox Miniſter, which falls almoſt entirely upon the Quakers; there being very few Inhabitants of any other Perſwaſion in theſe two Towns But as by the Charter granted to this Province, a free and abſolute Liberty of Conſcience to all Chriſtians (except Papiſts) was intended to have been their Foundation and Support; and as by ſeveral Laws paſſed there, it ſeems to have been laid down as a juſt and equitable Rule, that the Majority of each Town-Congregation ſhould have the Choice of their own Teachers, we cannot ſee why the Quakers ſhould be refuſed this Liberty in the Towns where they are ſo great a Majority, and be obliged to maintain a Teacher of different Perſwaſion. Wherefore we humbly propoſe to your Majeſty, that this Act may be repealed.

*Which is moſt humbly ſubmitted,*

*Whitehall*, May 6. 1724. Weſtmorland.
A true Copy, T. Pelham.
Teſt. *R. Partridge.* M. Bladen.
Edw. Aſhe.

*F I N I S.*

# CRÈVECOEUR

Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, a Frenchman of good family, born 1735, was educated in a Jesuit College and at an English school. At about age twenty he went to Canada, serving with Montcalm in the war between the French and English. Shortly thereafter he was in New York and Pennsylvania. In 1764 he was naturalized in New York.

He travelled, owned several farms and had the acquaintance of or corresponded with such famous Americans as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson.

He married and his children bore the family name of St.-John; was appointed French Consul for the States of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.

The first printed descriptions of any importance, of Nantucket and its people constitute a major portion of his book titled, "Letters from an American Farmer", published in London in 1782 but written by him (in English) while in the United States some years previously. When publishing the Paris edition of 1787 (in French) what had been four undated letters relating to Nantucket, viz. IV, V, VII, VIII, in the first (London 1782) edition he separated into sixteen letters, somewhat amplified and each dated, commencing "Sherburn, August 30, 1772", and ending "Nantucket, 10 December 1772." Thus the author indicates when the letters were written. The first publication, in London, was delayed, due it is thought to the troubles between the two countries.

As an idealist he represented the New World in glowing terms, sometimes fanciful, but as a whole interesting and informative. At the time such descriptions were much sought by Europeans who contemplated migrating to America.

Next following are printed the four letters with the topical headings just as they appeared in the first edition, including the map and the error as to the location of Nantucket in respect to Martha's Vineyard, Cape Cod, Hyannis, Boston and Bermuda.

The new material in the 1787 printing is unimportant but some of it is of interest. As it is virtually unknown and unavailable to most readers, free translations of such parts as seem best will be added immediately following the above.

# LETTERS

FROM AN

# AMERICAN FARMER;

DESCRIBING

CERTAIN PROVINCIAL SITUATIONS,
MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS,
NOT GENERALLY KNOWN;

AND CONVEYING

SOME IDEA OF THE LATE AND PRESENT
INTERIOR CIRCUMSTANCES

OF THE

*BRITISH COLONIES*

IN

*NORTH AMERICA.*

WRITTEN FOR THE INFORMATION OF A FRIEND
IN ENGLAND,

By J. HECTOR ST. JOHN,

A FARMER IN PENNSYLVANIA

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR THOMAS DAVIES IN RUSSELL STREET COVENT-GARDEN
AND LOCKYER DAVIS IN HOLBORN.
M DCC LXXXII.

# LETTER IV

## DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF NANTUCKET, WITH THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, POLICY, AND TRADE OF THE INHABITANTS

The greatest compliment that can be paid to the best of kings, to the wisest ministers, or the most patriotic rulers, is to think, that the reformation of political abuses, and the happiness of their people are the primary objects of their attention. But alas! how disagreeable must the work of reformation be; how dreaded the operation; for we hear of no amendment: on the contrary, the great number of European emigrants, yearly coming over here, informs us, that the severity of taxes, the injustice of laws, the tyranny of the rich and the oppressive avarice of the church; are as intolerable as ever. Will these calamities have no end? Are not the great rulers of the earth afraid of losing by degrees, their most useful subjects? This country, providentially intended for the general asylum of the world, will flourish by the oppression of their people; they will every day become better acquainted with the happiness we enjoy, and seek for the means of transporting themselves here, in spite of all obstacles and laws. To what purpose then have so many useful books and divine maxims been transmitted to us from preceding ages?—Are they all vain, all useless? Must human nature ever be the sport of the few, and its many wounds remain unhealed? How happy are we here, in having fortunately escaped the miseries which attended our fathers; how thankful ought we to be, that they reared us in a land where sobriety and industry never fail to meet with the most ample rewards! You have, no doubt, read several histories of this continent, yet there are a thousand facts, a thousand explanations overlooked. Authors will certainly convey to you a geographical knowledge of this country; they will acquaint you with the areas of the several settlements, the foundations of our towns, the spirit of our different charters, etc., yet they do not sufficiently disclose the genius of the people, their various customs, their modes of agriculture, the innumerable resources which the industrious have of raising themselves to a comfortable and easy situation. Few of these writers have resided here, and those who have, had not pervaded every part of the country, nor carefully examined the nature and principles of our association. It would be a task worthy a speculative genius, to enter intimately into the situation and characters of the

people, from Nova Scotia to West Florida; and surely history cannot possibly present any subject more pleasing to behold. Sensible how unable I am to lead you through so vast a maze, let us look attentively for some small unnoticed corner; but where shall we go in quest of such a one? Numberless settlements, each distinguished by some peculiarities, present themselves on every side; all seem to realise the most sanguine wishes that a good man could form for the happiness of his race. Here they live by fishing on the most plentiful coasts in the world; there they fell trees, by the sides of large rivers, for masts and lumber; here others convert innumerable logs into the best boards; there again others cultivate the land, rear cattle, and clear large fields. Yet I have a spot in my view, where none of these occupations are performed, which will, I hope, reward us for the trouble of inspection; but though it is barren in its soil, insignificant in its extent, inconvenient in its situation, deprived of materials for building; it seems to have been inhabited merely to prove what mankind can do when happily governed! Here I can point out to you exertions of the most successful industry; instances of native sagacity unassisted by science; the happy fruits of a well directed perseverance. It is always a refreshing spectacle to me, when in my review of the various component parts of this immense *whole,* I observe the labours of its inhabitants singularly rewarded by nature; when I see them emerged out of their first difficulties, living with decency and ease, and conveying to their posterity that plentiful subsistence, which their fathers have so deservedly earned. But when their prosperity arises from the goodness of the climate, and fertility of the soil; I partake of their happiness, it is true; yet stay but a little while with them, as they exhibit nothing but what is natural and common. On the contrary, when I meet with barren spots fertilised, grass growing where none grew before; grain gathered from fields which had hitherto produced nothing better than brambles; dwellings raised where no building materials were to be found; wealth acquired by the most uncommon means: there I pause, to dwell on the favourite object of my speculative inquiries. Willingly do I leave the former to enjoy the odoriferous furrow, or their rich vallies, with anxiety repairing to the spot, where so many difficulties have been overcome; where extraordinary exertions have produced extraordinary effects, and where every natural obstacle has been removed by a vigorous industry.

I want not to record the annals of the island of Nantucket—its inhabitants have no annals, for they are not a race of warriors. My simple wish is to trace them throughout their progressive steps, from

their arrival here to this present hour; to enquire by what means they have raised themselves from the most humble, the most insignificant beginnings, to the ease and the wealth they now possess; and to give you some idea of their customs, religion, manners, policy, and mode of living.

This happy settlement was not founded on intrusion, forcible entries, or blood, as so many others have been; it drew its origin from necessity on the one side, and from good will on the other; and ever since, all has been a scene of uninterrupted harmony.—Neither political, nor religious broils; neither disputes with the natives, nor any other contentions, have in the least agitated or disturbed its detached society. Yet the first founders knew nothing either of Lycurgus or Solon; for this settlement has not been the work of eminent men or powerful legislators, forcing nature by the accumulated labours of art. This singular establishment has been effected by means of that native industry and perseverance common to all men, when they are protected by a government which demands but little for its protection; when they are permitted to enjoy a system of rational laws founded on perfect freedom. The mildness and humanity of such a government necessarily implies that confidence which is the source of the most arduous undertakings and permanent success. Would you believe that a sandy spot, of about twenty-three thousand acres, affording neither stones nor timber, meadows nor arable, yet can boast of an handsome town, consisting of more than 500 houses, should possess above 200 sail of vessels, constantly employ upwards of 2000 seamen, feed more than 15,000 sheep, 500 cows, 200 horses; and has several citizens worth £20,000 sterling! Yet all these facts are uncontroverted. Who would have imagined that any people should have abandoned a fruitful and extensive continent, filled with the riches which the most ample vegetation affords; replete with good soil, enamelled meadows, rich pastures, every kind of timber, and with all other materials necessary to render life happy and comfortable: to come and inhabit a little sandbank, to which nature had refused those advantages; to dwell on a spot where there scarcely grew a shrub to announce, by the budding of its leaves, the arrival of the spring, and to warn by their fall the proximity of winter. Had this island been contiguous to the shores of some ancient monarchy, it would only have been occupied by a few wretched fishermen, who, oppressed by poverty, would hardly have been able to purchase or build little fishing barks; always dreading the weight of taxes, or the servitude of men-of-war. Instead of that boldness of speculation

for which the inhabitants of this island are so remarkable, they would fearfully have confined themselves, within the narrow limits of the most trifling attempts; timid in their excursions, they never could have extricated themselves from their first difficulties. This island, on the contrary, contains 5000 hardy people, who boldly derive their riches from the element that surrounds them, and have been compelled by the sterility of the soil to seek abroad for the means of subsistence. You must not imagine, from the recital of these facts, that they enjoyed any exclusive privileges or royal charters, or that they were nursed by particular immunities in the infancy of their settlement. No, their freedom, their skill, their probity, and perseverance, have accomplished everything, and brought them by degrees to the rank they now hold.

From this first sketch, I hope that my partiality to this island will be justified. Perhaps you hardly know that such an one exists in the neighbourhood of Cape Cod. What has happened here, has and will happen everywhere else. Give mankind the full rewards of their industry, allow them to enjoy the fruit of their labour under the peaceable shade of their vines and fig-trees, leave their native activity unshackled and free, like a fair stream without dams or other obstacles; the first will fertilise the very sand on which they tread, the other exhibit a navigable river, spreading plenty and cheerfulness wherever the declivity of the ground leads it. If these people are not famous for tracing the fragrant furrow on the plain, they plough the rougher ocean, they gather from its surface, at an immense distance, and with Herculean labours, the riches it affords; they go to hunt and catch that huge fish which by its strength and velocity one would imagine ought to be beyond the reach of man. This island has nothing deserving of notice but its inhabitants; here you meet with neither ancient monuments, spacious halls, solemn temples, nor elegant dwellings; not a citadel, nor any kind of fortification, not even a battery to rend the air with its loud peals on any solemn occasion. As for their rural improvements, they are many, but all of the most simple and useful kind.

The island of Nantucket, a map of which, drawn by Dr. James Tupper, son of the sheriff of the island, I send you enclosed, lies in latitude 41° 10′. 100 miles N. E. from Cape Cod; 27 N. from Hyanes or Barnstable, a town on the most contiguous part of the great peninsula; 21 miles W. by N. from Cape Pog, on the vineyard; 50 W. by N. from Wood's Hole, on Elizabeth Island; 80 miles N. from Boston; 120 from Rhode Island; 800 S. from Bermudas. A table of references to the map is added below.*

### *References to the Map of Nantucket

1. Point Coitou.
2. Brand Point, on which stands the light-house.
3. Eel Point.
4. Smith Point.
5. Bitter Eels Creeks.
6. Siasconcet Track.
7. Sandy Point.
8. The town, docks, and wharfs.
9. Shoal Water Lagoon, which supplies the inhabitants with oysters.
10. The Track of Crosskaty.
11. Squam
12. Long Pond.
13. The Washing Pond.
14. Miacomet Pond.
15. The Bar, nine feet water.
16. Tetoukemah Lots.
17. The Narrow Pond.
18. Quays, a valuable track of land.
19. Sheep Pasture.
20. The track called Palpus.
21. The fishing houses of Siaconcet
22. Sussacacher Pond.
23. Crosskaty Pond, full of black ducks.
24. East Pond, famous for brants.
25. The North Pond.
26. Tuckanuck Island.
27. South Side Beach.
28. Matacut Harbour.
29. Kapan High Sand Cliffs.
30. The Cliffs.
31. New Town Meadow.
32. Tomine Head, an high ground.

Sherborn is the only town on the island, which consists of about 530 houses, that have been framed on the main; they are lathed and plastered within, handsomely painted and boarded without; each has a cellar underneath, built with stones fetched also from the main; they are all of a similar construction and appearance; plain, and entirely devoid of exterior or interior ornament. I observed but one which was built of bricks, belonging to Mr. ——, but like the rest it is unadorned. The town stands on a rising sandbank, on the west side of the harbour, which is very safe from all winds. There are two places of worship, one for the society of Friends, the other for that of Presbyterians; and in the middle of the town, near the market-place, stands a simple building, which is the county court-house. The town regularly ascends toward the country, and in its vicinage they have several small fields and gardens yearly manured with the dung of their cows, and the soil of their streets. There are a good many cherry and peach trees planted in their streets and in many other places; the apple tree does not thrive well, they have therefore planted but few. The island contains no mountains, yet is very uneven, and the many rising grounds and eminences with which it is filled, have formed in the several valleys a great variety of swamps, where the Indian grass and the blue bent, peculiar to such soils, grow with tolerable luxuriancy. Some of the swamps abound with peat, which serves the poor instead of firewood. There are four-

teen ponds on this island, all extremely useful, some lying transversely, almost across it, which greatly helps to divide it into partitions for the use of their cattle; others abound with peculiar fish and sea fowls. Their streets are not paved, but this is attended with little inconvenience, as it is never crouded with country carriages; and those they have in the town are seldom made use of but in the time of the coming in and before the sailing of their fleets. At my first landing I was much surprised at the disagreeable smell which struck me in many parts of the town; it is caused by the whale oil, and is unavoidable; the neatness peculiar to these people can neither remove or prevent it. There are near the wharfs a great many storehouses, where their staple commodity is deposited, as well as the innumerable materials which are always wanted to repair and fit out so many whalemen. They have three docks, each three hundred feet long, and extremely convenient; at the head of which there are ten feet of water. These docks are built like those in Boston, of logs fetched from the continent, filled with stones, and covered with sand. Between these docks and the town, there is room sufficient for the landing of goods and for the passage of their numerous carts; for almost every man here has one: the wharfs to the north and south of the docks, are built of the same materials, and give a stranger, at his first landing, an high idea of the prosperity of these people; and there is room around these three docks for 300 sail of vessels. When their fleets have been successful, the bustle and hurry of business on this spot for some days after their arrival, would make you imagine, that Sherborn is the capital of a very opulent and large province. On that point of land, which forms the west side of the harbour, stands a very neat lighthouse; the opposite peninsula, called Coitou, secures it from the most dangerous winds. There are but few gardens and arable fields in the neighbourhood of the town, for nothing can be more sterile and sandy than this part of the island; they have, however, with unwearied perseverance, by bringing a variety of manure, and by cow-penning, enriched several spots where they raise Indian corn, potatoes, pumpkins, turnips, etc. On the highest part of this sandy eminence, four windmills grind the grain they raise or import; and contiguous to them their rope walk is to be seen, where full half of their cordage is manufactured. Between the shores of the harbour, the docks, and the town, there is a most excellent piece of meadow, inclosed and manured with such cost and pains as shew how necessary and precious grass is at Nantucket. Towards the point of Shemah, the island is more level and the soil better; and there they

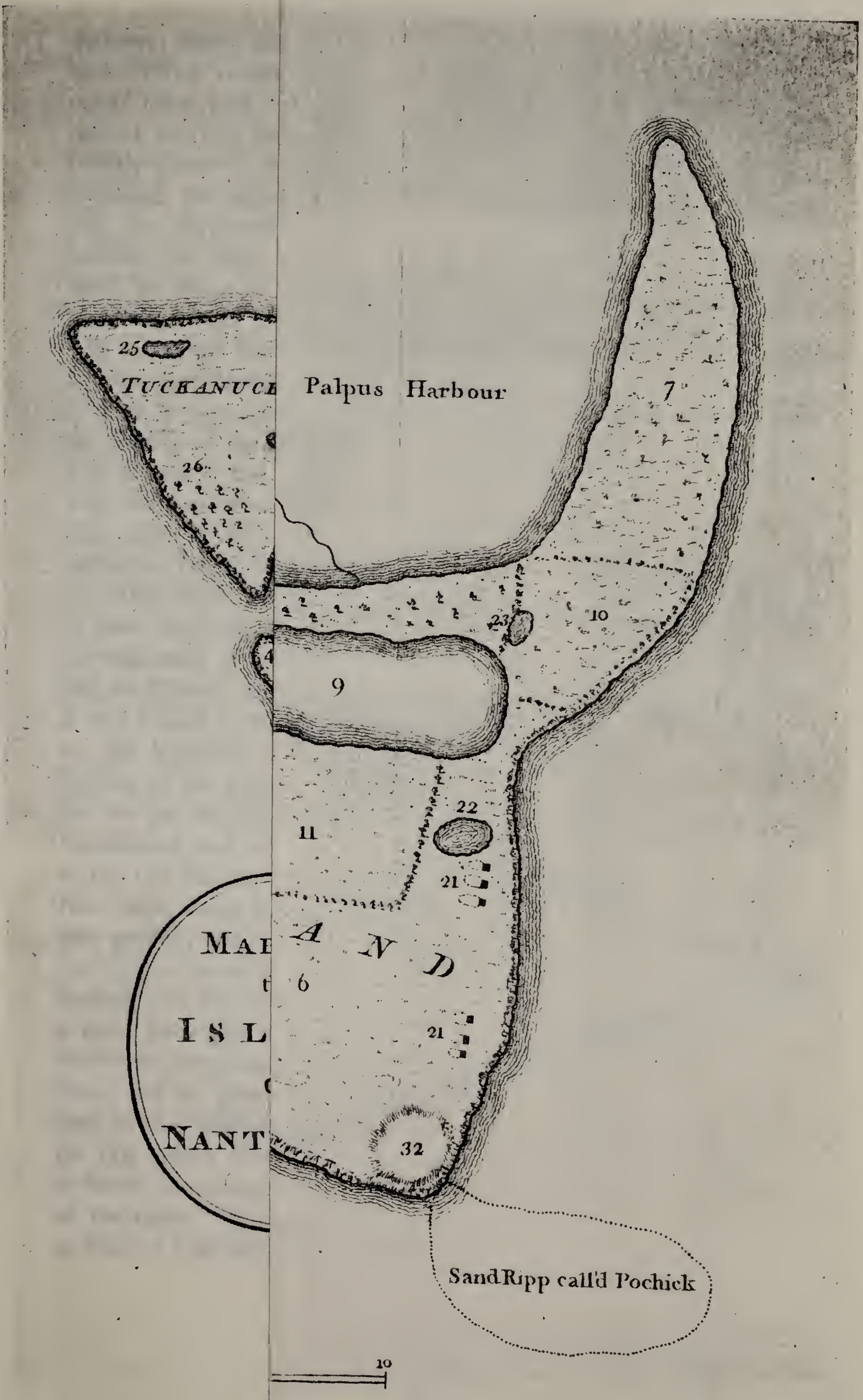
have considerable lots well fenced and richly manured, where they diligently raise their yearly crops. There are but very few farms on this island, because there are but very few spots that will admit of cultivation without the assistance of dung and other manure; which is very expensive to fetch from the main. This island was patented in the year 1671, by twenty-seven proprietors, under the province of New York; which then claimed all the islands from the Neway Sink to Cape Cod. They found it so universally barren and so unfit for cultivation, that they mutually agreed not to divide it, as each could neither live on, nor improve that lot which might fall to his share. They then cast their eyes on the sea, and finding themselves obliged to become fishermen, they looked for a harbour, and having found one, they determined to build a town in its neighbourhood and to dwell together. For that purpose they surveyed as much ground as would afford to each what is generally called here a home lot. Forty acres were thought sufficient to answer this double purpose; for to what end should they covet more land than they could improve, or even inclose; not being possessed of a single tree, in the whole extent of their new dominion. This was all the territorial property they allotted; the rest they agreed to hold in common, and seeing that the scanty grass of the island might feed sheep, they agreed that each proprietor should be entitled to feed on it if he pleased 560 sheep. By this agreement, the national flock was to consist of 15,120; that is the undivided part of the island was by such means ideally divisible into as many parts or shares; to which nevertheless no certain determinate quantity of land was affixed: for they knew not how much the island contained, nor could the most judicious surveyor fix this small quota as to quality and quantity. Further they agreed, in case the grass should grow better by feeding, that then four sheep should represent a cow, and two cows a horse: such was the method this wise people took to enjoy in common their new settlement; such was the mode of their first establishment, which may be truly and literally called a pastoral one. Several hundred of sheep-pasture titles have since been divided on those different tracts, which are now cultivated; the rest by inheritance and intermarriages have been so subdivided that it is very common for a girl to have no other portion but her outset and four sheep pastures or the privilege of feeding a cow. But as this privilege is founded on an ideal, though real title to some unknown piece of land, which one day or another may be ascertained; these *sheep-pasture titles* should convey to your imagination, something more valuable and of greater credit than the

mere advantage arising from the benefit of a cow, which in that case would be no more than a right of commonage. Whereas, here as labour grows cheaper, as misfortunes from their sea advantures may happen, each person possessed of a sufficient number of these *sheep-pasture titles* may one day realise them on some peculiar spot, such as shall be adjudged by the council of the proprietors to be adequate to their value; and this is the reason that these people very unwillingly sell those small rights, and esteem them more than you would imagine. They are the representation of a future freehold, they cherish in the mind of the possessor a latent, though distant, hope, that by his success in his next whale season, he may be able to pitch on some predilected spot, and there build himself a home, to which he may retire, and spend the latter end of his days in peace. A council of proprietors always exists in this island, who decide their territorial differences; their titles are recorded in the books of the county, which this town represents, as well as every conveyance of lands and other sales.

This island furnishes the naturalist with few or no objects worthy observation: it appears to be the uneven summit of a sandy submarine mountain, covered here and there with sorrel, grass, a few cedar bushes, and scrubby oaks; their swamps are much more valuable for the peat they contain, than for the trifling pasture of their surface; those declining grounds which lead to the seashores abound with *beach grass,* a light fodder when cut and cured, but very good when fed green. On the east side of the island they have several tracts of salt grasses, which being carefully fenced, yield a considerable quantity of that wholesome fodder. Among the many ponds or lakes with which this island abounds, there are some which have been made by the intrusion of the sea, such as Wiwidiah, the Long, the Narrow, and several others; consequently those are salt and the others fresh. The former answer two considerable purposes, first by enabling them to fence the island with greater facility; at peculiar high tides a great number of fish enter into them, where they feed and grow large, and at some known seasons of the year the inhabitants assemble and cut down the small bars which the waves always throw up. By these easy means the waters of the pond are let out, and as the fish follow their native element, the inhabitants with proper nets catch as many as they want, in their way out, without any other trouble. Those which are most common, are the streaked bass, the blue fish, the tomcod, the mackerel, the tew-tag, the herring, the flounder, eel, etc. Fishing is one of the greatest diversions the island affords. At the west end lies the

harbour of Mardiket, formed by Smith Point on the south-west, by Eel Point on the north, and *Tuckanut Island* on the north-west; but it is neither so safe nor has it so good anchoring ground, as that near which the town stands. Three small creeks run into it, which yield the bitterest eels I have ever tasted. Between the lotts of Palpus on the east, Barry's Valley and Miacomet pond on the south, and the narrow pond on the west, not far from Shèmàh Point, they have a considerable tract of even ground, being the least sandy, and the best on the island. It is divided into seven fields, one of which is planted by that part of the community which are entitled to it. This is called the common plantation, a simple but useful expedient, for was each holder of this track to fence his property, it would require a prodigious quantity of posts and rails, which you must remember are to be purchased and fetched from the main. Instead of those private subdivisions each man's allotment of land is thrown into the general field which is fenced at the expense of the parties; within it every one does with his own portion of the ground whatever he pleases. This apparent community saves a very material expense, a great deal of labour, and perhaps raises a sort of emulation among them, which urges every one to fertilise his share with the greatest care and attention. Thus every seven years the whole of this tract is under cultivation, and enriched by manure and ploughing yields afterwards excellent pasture; to which the town cows, amounting to 500, are daily led by the town shepherd, and as regularly drove back in the evening. There each animal easily finds the house to which it belongs, where they are sure to be well rewarded for the milk they give, by a present of bran, grain, or some farinaceous preparation; their economy being very great in that respect. These are commonly called Tètoukèmah lotts. You must not imagine that every person on the island is either a landholder, or concerned in rural operations; no, the greater part are at sea; busily employed in their different fisheries; others are mere strangers, who come to settle as handicrafts, mechanics, etc., and even among the natives few are possessed of determinate shares of land: for engaged in sea affairs, or trade, they are satisfied with possessing a few sheep pastures, by means of which they may have perhaps one or two cows. Many have but one, for the great number of children they have, has caused such sub-divisions of the original proprietorship as is sometimes puzzling to trace; and several of the most fortunate at sea, have purchased and realised a great number of these original pasture titles. The best land on the island is at Palpus, remarkable for nothing but a

house of entertainment. Quayes is a small but valuable track, long since purchased by Mr. Coffin, where he has erected the best house on the island. By long attention, proximity of the sea, etc., this fertile spot has been well manured, and is now the garden of Nantucket. Adjoining to it on the west side there is a small stream, in which they have erected a fulling mill; on the east is the lot, known by the name of Squam, watered likewise by a small rivulet, on which stands another fulling mill. Here is fine loomy soil, producing excellent clover, which is mowed twice a year. These mills prepare all the cloth which is made here: you may easily suppose that having so large a flock of sheep, they abound in wool; part of this they export, and the rest is spun by their industrious wives and converted into substantial garments. To the south-east is a great division of the island, fenced by itself, known by the name of Siasconsèt lott. It is a very uneven track of ground, abounding with swamps; here they turn in their fat cattle, or such as they intend to stall-feed, for their winter's provisions. It is on the shores of this part of the island, near Pochick Rip, where they catch their best fish, such as sea bass, tew-tag, or black fish, cod, smelt, perch, shadine, pike, etc. They have erected a few fishing houses on this shore, as well as at Sankate's Head, and Sussakatchè Beach, where the fishermen dwell in the fishing season. Many red cedar bushes and beach grass grow on the peninsula of Coitou; the soil is light and sandy, and serves as a receptacle for rabbits. It is here that their sheep find shelter in the snow storms of the winter. At the north end of Nantucket, there is a long point of land, projecting far into the sea, called Sandy Point; nothing grows on it but plain grass; and this is the place from whence they often catch porpoises and sharks, by a very ingenious method. On this point they commonly drive their horses in the spring of the year, in order to feed on the grass it bears, which is useless when arrived at maturity. Between that point and the main island they have a valuable salt meadow, called Croskaty, with a pond of the same name famous for black ducks. Hence we must return to Squam, which abounds in clover and herds grass; those who possess it follow no maritime occupation, and therefore neglect nothing that can render it fertile and profitable. The rest of the undescribed part of the island is open, and serves as a common pasture for their sheep. To the west of the island is that of Tackanuck, where in the spring their young cattle are driven to feed; it has a few oak bushes and two fresh-water ponds, abounding with teals, brandts, and many other sea fowls, brought to this island by the proximity of their sand banks and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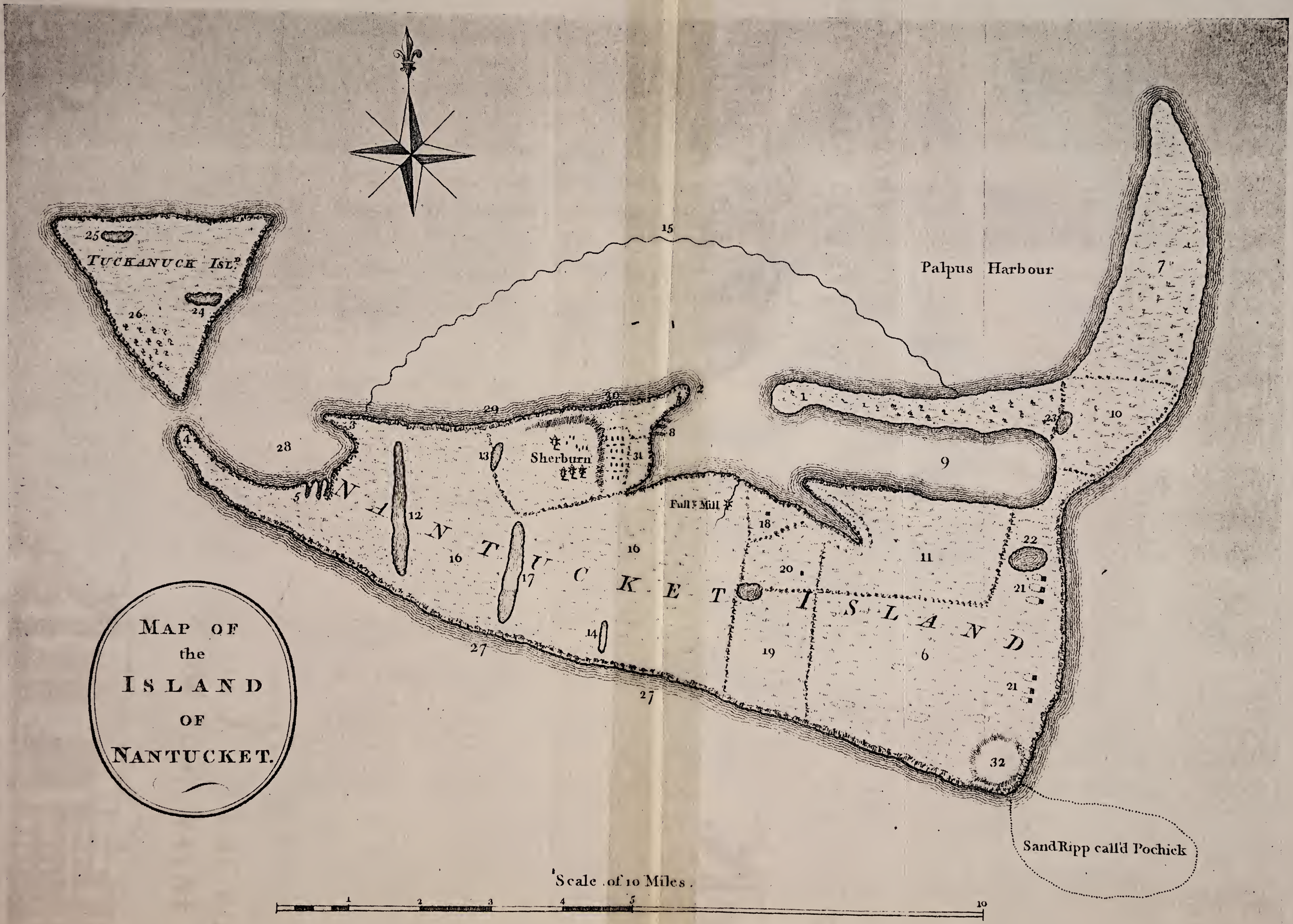
MAP OF the ISLAND OF NANTUCKET.
TUCKANUCK ISLD.
NANTUCKET ISLAND
Palpus Harbour
Sherburn
Full. Mill
Sand Ripp call'd Pochick
Scale of 10 Miles.
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shallows; where thousands are seen feeding at low water. Here they have neither wolves nor foxes; those inhabitants therefore who live out of town, raise with all security as much poultry as they want; their turkeys are very large and excellent. In summer this climate is extremely pleasant; they are not exposed to the scorching sun of the continent, the heats being tempered by the sea breezes, with which they are perpetually refreshed. In the winter, however, they pay severely for those advantages; it is extremely cold; the northwest wind, the tyrant of this country, after having escaped from our mountains and forests, free from all impediment in its short passage, blows with redoubled force and renders this island bleak and uncomfortable. On the other hand, the goodness of their houses, the social hospitality of their firesides, and their good cheer, make them ample amends for the severity of the season; nor are the snows so deep as on the main. The necessary and unavoidable inactivity of that season, combined with the vegetative rest of nature, force mankind to suspend their toils: often at this season more than half the inhabitants of the island are at sea, fishing in milder latitudes.

This island, as has been already hinted, appears to be the summit of some huge sandy mountain, affording some acres of dry land for the habitation of man; other submarine ones lie to the southward of this, at different depths and different distances. This dangerous region is well known to the mariners by the name of Nantucket Shoals: these are the bulwarks which so powerfully defend this island from the impulse of the mighty ocean, and repel the force of its waves; which, but for the accumulated barriers, would ere now have dissolved its foundations, and torn it in pieces. These are the banks which afforded to the first inhabitants of Nantucket their daily subsistence, as it was from these shoals that they drew the origin of that wealth which they now possess; and was the school where they first learned how to venture farther, as the fish of their coast receded. The shores of this island abound with the soft-shelled, the hard-shelled, and the great sea clams, a most nutritious shell-fish. Their sands, their shallows are covered with them; they multiply so fast, that they are a never-failing resource. These and the great variety of fish they catch, constitute the principal food of the inhabitants. It was likewise that of the aborigines, whom the first settlers found here; the posterity of whom still live together in decent houses along the shores of Miacomet pond, on the south side of the island. They are an industrious, harmless race, as expert and as fond of a seafaring life as their fellow inhabitants the whites. Long

before their arrival they had been engaged in petty wars against one another; the latter brought them peace, for it was in quest of peace that they abandoned the main. This island was then supposed to be under the jurisdiction of New York, as well as the islands of the Vineyard, Elizabeth's, etc., but have been since adjudged to be a part of the province of Massachusetts Bay. This change of jurisdiction procured them that peace they wanted, and which their brethren had so long refused them in the days of their religious frenzy: thus have enthusiasm and persecution both in Europe as well as here, been the cause of the most arduous undertakings, and the means of those rapid settlements which have been made along these extended sea-shores. This island, having been since incorporated with the neighbouring province, is become one of its counties, known by the name of Nantucket, as well as the island of the Vineyard, by that of Duke's County. They enjoy here the same municipal establishment in common with the rest; and therefore every requisite officer, such as sheriff, justice of the peace, supervisors, assessors, constables, overseer of the poor, etc. Their taxes are proportioned to those of the metropolis, they are levied as with us by valuations, agreed on and fixed, according to the laws of the province; and by assessments formed by the assessors, who are yearly chosen by the people, and whose office obliges them to take either an oath or an affirmation. Two thirds of the magistrates they have here are of the society of Friends.

Before I enter into the further detail of this people's government, industry, mode of living, etc., I think it necessary to give you a short sketch of the political state the natives had been in, a few years preceding the arrival of the whites among them. They are hastening towards a total annihilation, and this may be perhaps the last compliment that will ever be paid them by any traveller. They were not extirpated by fraud, violence, or injustice, as hath been the case in so many provinces; on the contrary, they have been treated by these people as brethren; the peculiar genius of their sect inspiring them with the same spirit of moderation which was exhibited at Pennsylvania. Before the arrival of the European, they lived on the fish of their shores; and it was from the same resources the first settlers were compelled to draw their first subsistence. It is uncertain whether the original right of the Earl of Sterling, or that of the Duke of York, was founded on a fair purchase of the soil or not; whatever injustice might have been committed in that respect, cannot be charged to the account of those Friends who purchased from others who no doubt founded their right on Indian

grants: and if their numbers are now so decreased, it must not be attributed either to tyranny or violence, but to some of those causes, which have uninterruptedly produced the same effects from one end of the continent to the other, wherever both nations have been mixed. This insignificant spot, like the sea-shores of the great peninsula, was filled with these people; the great plenty of clams, oysters, and other fish, on which they lived, and which they easily catched, had prodigiously increased their numbers. History does not inform us what particular nation the aborigines of Nantucket were of; it is however very probable that they anciently emigrated from the opposite coast, perhaps from the Hyannees, which is but twenty-seven miles distant. As they then spoke and still speak the Nattick, it is reasonable to suppose that they must have had some affinity with that nation; or else that the Nattick, like the Huron, in the north-western parts of this continent, must have been the most prevailing one in this region. Mr. Elliot, an eminent New England divine, and one of the first founders of that great colony, translated the Bible into this language, in the year 1666, which was printed soon after at Cambridge, near Boston; he translated also the catechism, and many other useful books, which are still very common on this island, and are daily made use of by those Indians who are taught to read. The young Europeans learn it with the same facility as their own tongues; and ever after speak it both with ease and fluency. Whether the present Indians are the descendants of the ancient natives of the island, or whether they are the remains of the many different nations which once inhabited the regions of Mashpè and Nobscusset, in the peninsula now known by the name of Cape Cod, no one can positively tell, not even themselves. The last opinion seems to be that of the most sensible people of the island. So prevailing is the disposition of man to quarrel, and shed blood; so prone is he to divisions and parties; that even the ancient natives of this little spot were separated into two communities inveterately waging war against each other, like the more powerful tribes of the continent. What do you imagine was the cause of this national quarrel? All the coast of their island equally abounded with the same quantity of fish and clams; in that instance there could be no jealousy, no motives to anger; the country afforded them no game; one would think this ought to have been the country of harmony and peace. But behold the singular destiny of the human kind, ever inferior, in many instances, to the more certain instinct of animals; among which the individuals of the same species are always friends, though reared in different climates:

they understand the same language, they shed not each other's blood, they eat not each other's flesh. That part of these rude people who lived on the eastern shores of the island, had from time immemorial tried to destroy those who lived on the west; those latter inspired with the same evil genius, had not been behind hand in retaliating: thus was a perpetual war subsisting between these people, founded on no other reason, but the adventitious place of their nativity and residence. In process of time both parties became so thin and depopulated, that the few who remained, fearing lest their race should become totally extinct, fortunately thought of an expedient which prevented their entire annihiliation. Some years before the Europeans came, they mutually agreed to settle a partition line which should divide the island from north to south; the people of the west agreed not to kill those of the east, except they were found transgressing over the western part of the line; those of the last entered into a reciprocal agreement. By these simple means peace was established among them, and this is the only record which seems to entitle them to the denomination of men. This happy settlement put a stop to their sanguinary depredations, none fell afterward but a few rash imprudent individuals; on the contrary, they multiplied greatly. But another misfortune awaited them; when the Europeans came they caught the smallpox, and their improper treatment of that disorder swept away great numbers: this calamity was succeeded by the use of rum; and these are the two principal causes which so much diminished their numbers, not only here but all over the continent. In some places whole nations have disappeared. Some years ago three Indian canoes, on their return to Detroit from the falls of Niagara, unluckily got the small pox from the Europeans with whom they had traded. It broke out near the long point on Lake Erie, there they all perished; their canoes, and their goods, were afterwards found by some travellers journeying the same way; their dogs were still alive. Besides the small pox, and the use of spirituous liquors, the two greatest curses they have received from us, there is a sort of physical antipathy, which is equally powerful from one end of the continent to the other. Wherever they happen to be mixed, or even to live in the neighbourhood of the Europeans, they become exposed to a variety of accidents and misfortunes to which they always fall victims: such are particular fevers, to which they were strangers before, and sinking into a singular sort of indolence and sloth. This has been invariably the case wherever the same association has taken place; as at Nattick, Mashpè, Soccanoket in the bounds of Falmouth, Nobscusset, Hourato-

nick, Monhauset, and the Vineyard. Even the Mohawks themselves, who were once so populous, and such renowned warriors, are now reduced to less than 200 since the European settlements have circumscribed the territories which their ancestors had reserved. Three years before the arrival of the Europeans at Cape Cod, a frightful distemper had swept away a great many along its coasts, which made the landing and intrusion of our forefathers much easier than it otherwise might have been. In the year 1763, above half of the Indians of this island perished by a strange fever, which the Europeans who nursed them never caught; they appear to be a race doomed to recede and disappear before the superior genius of the Europeans. The only ancient custom of these people that is remembered is, that in their mutual exchanges, forty sun-dried clams, strung on a string, passed for the value of what might be called a copper. They were strangers to the use and value of wampum, so well known to those of the main. The few families now remaining are meek and harmless; their ancient ferocity is gone: they were early christianised by the New England missionaries, as well as those of the Vineyard, and of several other parts of the Massachusetts; and to this day they remain strict observers of the laws and customs of that religion, being carefully taught while young. Their sedentary life has led them to this degree of civilisation much more effectually, than if they had still remained hunters. They are fond of the sea, and expert mariners. They have learned from the Quakers the art of catching both the cod and whale, in consequence of which, five of them always make part of the complement of men requisite to fit out a whale-boat. Many have removed hither from the Vineyard, on which account they are more numerous on Nantucket, than anywhere else.

It is strange what revolution has happened among them in less than two hundred years! What is become of those numerous tribes which formerly inhabited the extensive shores of the great bay of Massachusetts? Even from Numkeag (*Salem*), Saugus (*Lynn*), Shawmut (*Boston*), Pataxet, Napouset (*Milton*), Matapan (*Dorchester*), Winèsimèt (*Chelsea*), Poîasset, Pokànoket (*New Plymouth*), Suecanosset (*Falmouth*), Titicut (*Chatham*), Nobscusset (*Yarmouth*), Naussit (*Eastham*), Hyanneès (*Barnstable*), etc., and many others who lived on sea-shores of above three hundred miles in length; without mentioning those powerful tribes which once dwelt between the rivers Hudson, Connecticut, Piskàtàquà, and Kènnebèck, the Mèhikaudret, Mohiguine, Pèquods, Narragansets, Nianticks, Massachusetts, Wamponougs, Nipnets, Tarranteens, etc. — They are gone, and every

memorial of them is lost; no vestiges whatever are left of those swarms which once inhabited this country, and replenished both sides of the great peninsula of Cape Cod: not even one of the posterity of the famous Masconomèo is left (the sachem of Cape Ann); not one of the descendants of Massasoit, father of Mètacomèt (*Philip*), and Wamsutta (*Alexander*), he who first conveyed some lands to the Plymouth Company. They have all disappeared either in the wars which the Europeans carried on against them, or else they have mouldered away, gathered in some of their ancient towns, in contempt and oblivion: nothing remains of them all, but one extraordinary monument, and even this they owe to the industry and religious zeal of the Europeans, I mean the Bible translated into the Nattick tongue. Many of these tribes giving way to the superior power of the whites, retired to their ancient villages, collecting the scattered remains of nations once populous; and in their grant of lands reserved to themselves and posterity certain portions, which lay contiguous to them. There forgetting their ancient manners, they dwelt in peace; in a few years their territories were surrounded by the improvements of the Europeans; in consequence of which they grew lazy, inactive, unwilling, and unapt to imitate, or to follow any of our trades, and in a few generations, either totally perished or else came over to the Vineyard, or to this island, to re-unite themselves with such societies of their countrymen as would receive them. Such has been the fate of many nations, once warlike and independent; what we see now on the main, or on those islands, may be justly considered as the only remains of those ancient tribes. Might I be permitted to pay perhaps a very useless compliment to *those* at least who inhabited the great peninsula of Namset, now Cape Cod, with whose names and ancient situation I am well acquainted. This peninsula was diveded into two great regions; that on the side of the bay was known by the name of Nobscusset, from one of its towns; the capital was called Nausit (*now Eastham*); hence the Indians of that region were called Nausit Indians, though they dwelt in the villages of Pamet, Nosset, Pashèe, Potomaket, Sòktoowoket, Nobscusset (*Yarmouth*).

The region on the Atlantic side was called Mashpèe and contained the tribes of Hyannèes, Costowet, Waquoit, Scootin, Saconasset, Mashpèe and Namset. Several of these Indian towns have been since converted into flourishing European settlements known by different names; for as the natives were excellent judges of land, which they had fertilised besides with the shells of their fish, etc., the latter could

not make a better choice; though in general this great peninsula is but a sandy pine track, a few good spots excepted. It is divided into seven townships, viz. Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Chatham, Eastham; Pamet, Namset, or Province town, at the extremity of the Cape. Yet these are very populous, though I am at a loss to conceive on what the inhabitants live, besides clams, oysters, and fish; their piny lands being the most ungrateful soil in the world. The minister of Namset or Province Town, receives from the government of Massachusetts a salary of fifty pounds per annum; and such is the poverty of the inhabitants of that place, that, unable to pay him any money, each master of a family is obliged to allow him two hundred horse feet (*sea spin*) with which this primitive priest fertilises the land of his glebe, which he tills himself: for nothing will grow on these hungry soils without the assistance of this extraordinary manure, fourteen bushels of Indian corn being looked upon as a good crop. But it is time to return from a digression, which I hope you will pardon. Nantucket is a great nursery of seamen, pilots, coasters, and bank-fishermen; as a country belonging to the province of Massachusetts, it has yearly the benefit of a court of Common Pleas, and their appeal lies to the supreme court at Boston. I observed before, that the Friends compose two-thirds of the magistracy of this island; thus they are the proprietors of its territory, and the principal rulers of its inhabitants; but with all this apparatus of law, its coercive powers are seldom wanted or required. Seldom is it that any individual is amerced or punished; their jail conveys no terror; no man has lost his life here judicially since the foundation of this town, which is upwards of an hundred years. Solemn tribunals, public executions, humiliating punishments, are altogether unknown. I saw neither governors, nor any pageantry of state; neither ostentatious magistrates, nor any individuals clothed with useless dignity: no artificial phantoms subsist here either civil or religious; no gibbets loaded with guilty citizens offer themselves to your view; no soldiers are appointed to bayonet their compatriots into servile compliance. But how is a society composed of 5000 individuals preserved in the bonds of peace and tranquillity? How are the weak protected from the strong? — I will tell you. Idleness and poverty, the causes of so many crimes, are unknown here; each seeks in the prosecution of his lawful business that honest gain which supports them; every period of their time is full, either on shore or at sea. A probable expectation of reasonable profits, or of kindly assistance, if they fail of success, renders them strangers to licentious expedients. The simplicity of their manners

shortens the catalogues of their wants; the law at a distance is ever ready to exert itself in the protection of those who stand in need of its assistance. The greatest part of them are always at sea, pursuing the whale or raising the cod from the surface of the banks: some cultivate their little farms with the utmost diligence; some are employed in exercising various trades; others again in providing every necessary resource in order to refit their vessels, or repair what misfortunes may happen, looking out for future markets, etc. Such is the rotation of those different scenes of business which fill the measure of their days; of that part of their lives at least which is enlivened by health, spirits, and vigour. It is but seldom that vice grows on a barren sand like this, which produces nothing without extreme labour. How could the common follies of society take root in so despicable a soil; they generally thrive on its exuberant juices: here there are none but those which administer to the useful, to the necessary, and to the indispensable comforts of life. This land must necessarily either produce health, temperance, and a great equality of conditions, or the most abject misery. Could the manners of luxurious countries be imported here, like an epidemical disorder they would destroy everything; the majority of them could not exist a month, they would be obliged to emigrate. As in all societies except that of the natives, some difference must necessarily exist between individual and individual, for there must be some more exalted than the rest either by their riches or their talents; so in *this,* there are what you might call the high, the middling, and the low; and this difference will always be more remarkable among people who live by sea excursions than among those who live by the cultivation of their land. The first run greater hazard, and adventure more: the profits and the misfortunes attending this mode of life must necessarily introduce a greater disparity than among the latter, where the equal divisions of the land offers no short road to superior riches. The only difference that may arise among them is that of industry, and perhaps of superior goodness of soil: the gradations I observed here, are founded on nothing more than the good or ill success of their maritime enterprises, and do not proceed from education; that is the same throughout every class, simple, useful, and unadorned like their dress and their houses. This necessary difference in their fortunes does not however cause those heart burnings, which in other societies generate crimes. The sea which surrounds them is equally open to all, and presents to all an equal title to the chance of good fortune. A collector from Boston is the only king's officer who

appears on these shores to receive the trifling duties which this community owe to those who protect them, and under the shadow of whose wings they navigate to all parts of the world.

## LETTER V

### Customary Education and Employment of the Inhabitants of Nantucket

The easiest way of becoming acquainted with the modes of thinking, the rules of conduct, and the prevailing manners of any people, is to examine what sort of education they give their children; how they treat them at home, and what they are taught in their places of public worship. At home their tender minds must be early struck with the gravity, the serious though chearful deportment of their parents; they are inured to a principle of subordination, arising neither from sudden passions nor inconsiderate pleasure; they are gently held by an uniform silk cord, which unites softness and strength. A perfect equanimity prevails in most of their families, and bad examples hardly ever sows in their hearts the seeds of future and similar faults. They are corrected with tenderness, nursed with the most affectionate care, clad with that decent plainness, from which they observe their parents never to depart: in short, by the force of example, which is superior even to the strongest instinct of nature, more than by precepts, they learn to follow the steps of their parents, to despise ostentatiousness as being sinful. They acquire a taste for that neatness for which their fathers are so conspicuous; they learn to be prudent and saving; the very tone of voice with which they are always addressed, establishes in them that softness of diction, which ever after becomes habitual. Frugal, sober, orderly parents, attached to their business, constantly following some useful occupation, never guilty of riot, dissipation, or other irregularities, cannot fail of training up children to the same uniformity of life and manners. If they are left with fortunes, they are taught how to save them, and how to enjoy them with moderation and decency; if they have none, they know how to venture, how to work and toil as their fathers have done before them. If they fail of success, there are always in this island (and wherever this society prevails) established resources, founded on the most benevolent principles. At their meetings they are taught the few, the simple tenets of their sect; tenets as fit to render men sober, industrious, just, and

merciful, as those delivered in the most magnificent churches and cathedrals: they are instructed in the most essential duties of Christianity, so as not to offend the Divinity by the commission of evil deeds; to dread his wrath and the punishments he has denounced; they are taught at the same time to have a proper confidence in his mercy while they deprecate his justice. As every sect, from their different modes of worship, and their different interpretations of some parts of the Scriptures, necessarily have various opinions and prejudices, which contribute something in forming their characteristics in society; so those of the Friends are well known: obedience to the laws, even to non-resistance, justice, goodwill to all, benevolence at home, sobriety, meekness, neatness, love of order, fondness and appetite for commerce. They are as remarkable here for those virtues as at Philadelphia, which is their American cradle, and the boast of that society. At school they learn to read, and to write a good hand, until they are twelve years old; they are then in general put apprentices to the cooper's trade, which is the second essential branch of business followed here; at fourteen they are sent to sea, where in their leisure hours their companions teach them the art of navigation, which they have an opportunity of practising on the spot. They learn the great and useful art of working a ship in all the different situations which the sea and wind so often require; and surely there cannot be a better or a more useful school of that kind in the world. Then they go gradually through every station of rowers, steersmen, and harpooners; thus they learn to attack, to pursue, to overtake, to cut, to dress their huge game: and after having performed several such voyages, and perfected themselves in this business, they are fit either for the counting house or the chase.

The first proprietors of this island, or rather the first founders of this town, began their career of industry with a single whale-boat, with which they went to fish for cod; the small distance from their shores at which they caught it, enabled them soon to increase their business, and those early successes first led them to conceive that they might likewise catch the whales, which hitherto sported undisturbed on their banks. After many trials and several miscarriages, they succeeded; thus they proceeded, step by step; the profits of one successful enterprise helped them to purchase and prepare better materials for a more extensive one: as these were attended with little costs, their profits grew greater. The south sides of the island from east to west, were divided into four equal parts, and each part was assigned to a

company of six, which though thus separated, still carried on their business in common. In the middle of this distance, they erected a mast, provided with a sufficient number of rounds, and near it they built a temporary hut, where five of the associates lived, whilst the sixth from his high station carefully looked toward the sea, in order to observe the spouting of the whales. As soon as any were discovered, the sentinel descended, the whale-boat was launched, and the company went forth in quest of their game. It may appear strange to you, that so slender a vessel as an *American whale-boat,* containing six diminutive beings, should dare to pursue and to attack, in its native element, the largest and strongest fish that nature has created. Yet by the exertions of an admirable dexterity, improved by a long practice, in which these people are become superior to any other whalemen; by knowing the temper of the whale after her first movement, and by many other useful observations; they seldom failed to harpoon it, and to bring the huge leviathan on the shores. Thus they went on until the profits they made, enabled them to purchase larger vessels, and to pursue them farther, when the whales quitted their coasts; those who failed in their enterprises, returned to the cod-fisheries, which had been their first school, and their first resource; they even began to visit the banks of Cape Breton, the isle of Sable, and all the other fishing places, with which this coast of America abounds. By degrees they went a-whaling to Newfoundland, to the Gulf of St. Laurence, to the Straits of Belleisle, the coast of Labrador, Davis's Straits, even to Cape Desolation, in 70° of latitude; where the Danes carry on some fisheries in spite of the perpetual severities of the inhospitable climate. In process of time they visited the western islands, the latitude of 34° famous for that fish, the Brazils, the coast of Guinea. Would you believe that they have already gone to the Falkland Islands, and that I have heard several of them talk of going to the South Sea! Their confidence is so great, and their knowledge of this branch of business so superior to that of any other people, that they have acquired a monopoly of this commodity. Such were their feeble beginnings, such the infancy and the progress of their maritime schemes; such is now the degree of boldness and activity to which they are arrived in their manhood. After their examples several companies have been formed in many of our capitals, where every necessary article of provisions, implements, and timber, are to be found. But the industry exerted by the people of Nantucket, hath hitherto enabled them to rival all their competitors; consequently this is the greatest mart for oil, whalebone,

and spermaceti, on the continent. It does not follow however that they are always successful, this would be an extraordinary field indeed, where the crops should never fail; many voyages do not repay the original cost of fitting out: they bear such misfortunes like true merchants, and as they never venture their all like gamesters, they try their fortunes again; the latter hope to win by chance alone, the former by industry, well judged speculation, and some hazard. I was there when Mr. —— had missed one of his vessels; she had been given over for lost by everybody, but happily arrived before I came away, after an absence of thirteen months. She had met with a variety of disappointments on the station she was ordered to, and rather than return empty, the people steered for the coast of Guinea, where they fortunately fell in with several whales, and brought home upward of 600 barrels of oil, beside bone. Those returns are sometimes disposed of in the towns on the continent, where they are exchanged for such commodities as are wanted; but they are most commonly sent to England, where they always sell for cash. When this is intended, a vessel larger than the rest is fitted out to be filled with oil on the spot where it is found and made, and thence she sails immediately for London. This expedient saves time, freight, and expense; and from that capital they bring back whatever they want. They employ also several vessels in transporting lumber to the West Indian Islands, from whence they procure in return the various productions of the country, which they afterwards exchange wherever they can hear of an advantageous market. Being extremely acute they well know how to improve all the advantages which the combination of so many branches of business constantly affords; the spirit of commerce, which is the simple art of a reciprocal supply of wants, is well understood here by everybody. They possess, like the generality of the Americans, a large share of native penetration, activity, and good sense, which lead them to a variety of other secondary schemes too tedious to mention: they are well acquainted with the cheapest method of procuring lumber from Kennebeck river, Penobscot, etc., pitch and tar, from North Carolina; flour and biscuit, from Philadelphia; beef and pork, from Connecticut. They know how to exchange their cod fish and West-Indian produce for those articles which they are continually either bringing to their island, or sending off to other places where they are wanted. By means of all these commercial negotiations, they have greatly cheapened the fitting out of their whaling fleets, and therefore much improved their fisheries. They are indebted for all these advantages not only to their national

genius but to the poverty of their soil; and as a proof of what I have so often advanced, look at the Vineyard (their neighbouring island) which is inhabited by a set of people as keen and as sagacious as themselves. Their soil being in general extremely fertile, they have fewer navigators; though they are equally well situated for the fishing business.

## LETTER VII

### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS AT NANTUCKET

As I observed before, every man takes a wife as soon as he chuses, and that is generally very early; no portion is required, none is expected; no marriage articles are drawn up among us, by skilful lawyers, to puzzle and lead posterity to the bar, or to satisfy the pride of the parties. We give nothing with our daughters, their education, their health, and the customary out-set, are all that the fathers of numerous families can afford: as the wife's fortune consists principally in her future economy, modesty, and skilful management; so the husband's is founded on his abilities to labour, on his health, and the knowledge of some trade or business. Their mutual endeavours, after a few years of constant application, seldom fail of success, and of bringing them the means to rear and support the new race which accompanies the nuptial bed. Those children born by the sea-side, hear the roaring of its waves as soon as they are able to listen; it is the first noise with which they become acquainted, and by early plunging in it they acquïre that boldness, that presence of mind, and dexterity, which makes them ever after such expert seamen. They often hear their fathers recount the adventures of their youth, their combats with the whales; and these recitals imprint on their opening minds an early curiosity and taste for the same life. They often cross the sea to go to the main, and learn even in those short voyages how to qualify themselves for longer and more dangerous ones; they are therefore deservedly conspicuous for their maritime knowledge and experience, all over the continent. A man born here is distinguishable by his gait from among an hundred other men, so remarkable are they for a pliability of sinews, and a peculiar agility, which attends them even to old age. I have heard some persons attribute this to the effects of the whale oil, with which they are so copiously anointed in the various operations it must undergo ere it is fit either for the European market or the candle manufactory.

But you may perhaps be solicitous to ask, what becomes of that exuberancy of population which must arise from so much temperance, from healthiness of climate, and from early marriage? You may justly conclude that their native island and town can contain but a limited number. Emigration is both natural and easy to a maritime people, and that is the very reason why they are always populous, problematical as it may appear. They yearly go to different parts of this continent, constantly engaged in sea affairs; as our internal riches increase, so does our external trade, which consequently requires more ships and more men: sometimes they have emigrated like bees, in regular and connected swarms. Some of the Friends (by which word I always mean the people called Quakers) fond of a contemplative life, yearly visit the several congregations which this society has formed throughout the continent. By their means a sort of correspondence is kept up among them all; they are generally good preachers, friendly censors, checking vice wherever they find it predominating; preventing relaxations in any parts of their ancient customs and worship. They everywhere carry admonition and useful advice; and by thus travelling they unavoidably gather the most necessary observations concerning the various situations of particular districts, their soils, their produce, their distance from navigable rivers, the price of the land, etc. In consequence of informations of this kind, received at Nantucket in the year 1766, a considerable number of them purchased a large track of land in the county of Orange in North Carolina, situated on the several spring heads of *Deep River,* which is the western branch of Cape Fear, or North-West River. The advantage of being able to convey themselves by sea, to within forty miles of the spot, the richness of the soil, etc., made them cheerfully quit an island on which there was no longer any room for them. There they have founded a beautiful settlement, known by the name of *New Garden,* contiguous to the famous one which the Moravians have at Bethabara, Bethamia, and Salem, on Yadkin River. No spot of earth can be more beautiful; it is composed of gentle hills, of easy declivities, excellent low lands, accompanied by different brooks which traverse this settlement. I never saw a soil that rewards men so early for their labours and disbursements; such in general with very few exceptions, are the lands which adjoin the innumerable heads of all the large rivers which fall into the Chesapeak, or flow through the provinces of North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc. It is perhaps the most pleasing, the most bewitching country which the continent affords; because while it preserves an easy communication with the sea-port

towns, at some seasons of the year, it is perfectly free from the contagious air often breathed in those flat countries, which are more contiguous to the Atlantic. These lands are as rich as those over the Alleghany; the people of New Garden are situated at the distance of between 200 and 300 miles from Cape Fear; Cape Fear is at least 450 from Nantucket: you may judge therefore that they have but little correspondence with this their little metropolis, except it is by means of the itinerant Friends. Others have settled on the famous river Kennebeck, in that territory of the province of Massachusetts, which is known by the name of Sagadahock. Here they have softened the labours of clearing the heaviest timbered land in America, by means of several branches of trade which their fair river, and proximity to the sea affords them. Instead of entirely consuming their timber, as we are obliged to do, some parts of it are converted into useful articles for exportation, such as staves, scantlings, boards, hoops, poles, etc. For that purpose they keep a correspondence with their native island, and I know many of the principal inhabitants of Sherburn, who, though merchants, and living at Nantucket, yet possess valuable farms on that river; from whence they draw great part of their subsistence, meat, grain, fire-wood, etc. The title of these lands is vested in the ancient Plymouth Company, under the powers of which the Massachusetts was settled; and that company which resides in Boston, are still the granters of all the vacant lands within their limits.

Although this part of the province is so fruitful, and so happily situated, yet it has been singularly overlooked and neglected: it is surprising that the excellence of that soil which lies on the river should not have caused it to be filled before now with inhabitants; for the settlements from thence to Penobscot are as yet but in their infancy. It is true that immense labour is required to make room for the plough, but the peculiar strength and quality of the soil never fails most amply to reward the industrious possessor; I know of no soil in this country more rich or more fertile. I do not mean that sort of transitory fertility which evaporates with the sun, and disappears in a few years; here on the contrary, even their highest grounds are covered with a rich moist swamp mould, which bears the most luxuriant grass, and neverfailing crops of grain.

If New Gardens exceeds this settlement by the softness of its climate, the fecundity of its soil, and a greater variety of produce from less labour; it does not breed men equally hardy, nor capable to encounter dangers and fatigues. It leads too much to idleness and effemi-

nacy; for great is the luxuriance of that part of America, and the ease with which the earth is cultivated. Were I to begin life again, I would prefer the country of Kennebeck to the other, however bewitching; the navigation of the river for above 200 miles, the great abundance of fish it contains, the constant healthiness of the climate, the happy severities of the winters always sheltering the earth with a voluminous coat of snow, the equally happy necessity of labour: all these reasons would greatly preponderate against the softer situations of Carolina; where mankind reap too much, do not toil enough, and are liable to enjoy too fast the benefits of life. There are many I know who would despise my opinion, and think me a bad judge; let those go and settle at the Ohio, the Monongahela, Red Stone Creek, etc., let them go and inhabit the extended shores of that superlative river; I with equal cheerfulness would pitch my tent on the rougher shores of Kennebeck; this will always be a country of health, labour, and strong activity, and those are characteristics of society which I value more than greater opulence and voluptuous ease.

Thus though this fruitful hive constantly sends out swarms, as industrious as themselves, yet it always remains full without having any useless drones: on the contrary it exhibits constant scenes of business and new schemes; the richer an individual grows, the more extensive his field of action becomes; he that is near ending his career, drudges on as well as he who has just begun it; nobody stands still. But is it not strange, that after having accumulated riches, they should never wish to exchange their barren situation for a more sheltered, more pleasant one on the main? Is it not strange, that after having spent the morning and the meridian of their days amidst the jarring waves, weary with the toils of a laborious life, they should not wish to enjoy the evenings of those days of industry in a larger society, on some spots of terra firma, where the severity of the winters is balanced by a variety of more pleasing scenes, not to be found here? But the same magical power of habit and custom which makes the Laplander, the Siberian, the Hottentot, prefer their climates, their occupations, and their soil, to more beneficial situations, leads these good people to think, that no other spot on the globe is so analagous to their inclinations as Nantucket. Here their connections are formed; what would they do at a distance removed from them? Live sumptuously, you will say, procure themselves new friends, new acquaintances, by their splendid tables, by their ostentatious generosity, and by affected hospitality. These are thoughts that have never entered into their heads;

they would be filled with horror at the thought of forming wishes and plans so different from that simplicity, which is their general standard in affluence as well as in poverty. They abhor the very idea of expending in useless waste and vain luxuries, the fruits of prosperous labour; they are employed in establishing their sons and in many other useful purposes: strangers to the honours of monarchy they do not aspire to the possession of affluent fortunes, with which to purchase sounding titles, and frivolous names!

Yet there are not at Nantucket so many wealthy people as one would imagine after having considered their great successes, their industry, and their knowledge. Many die poor, though hardly able to reproach Fortune with a frown; others leave not behind them that affluence which the circle of their business and of their prosperity naturally promised. The reason of this is, I believe, the peculiar expense necessarily attending their tables; for as their island supplies the town with little or nothing (a few families excepted) every one must procure what they want from the main. The very hay their horses consume, and every other article necessary to support a family, though cheap in a country of so great abundance as Massachusetts; yet the necessary waste and expenses attending their transport, render these commodities dear. A vast number of little vessels from the main, and from the Vineyard, are constantly resorting here, as to a market. Sherburn is extremely well supplied with everything, but this very constancy of supply, necessarily drains off a great deal of money. The first use they make of their oil and bone is to exchange it for bread and meat, and whatever else they want; the necessities of a large family are very great and numerous, let its economy be what it will; they are so often repeated, that they perpetually draw off a considerable branch of the profits. If by any accidents those profits are interrupted, the capital must suffer; and it very often happens that the greatest part of their property is floating on the sea.

There are but two congregations in this town. They assemble every Sunday in meeting houses, as simple as the dwelling of the people; and there is but one priest on the whole island. What would a good Portuguese observe? — But one single priest to instruct a whole island, and to direct their consciences! It is even so; each individual knows how to guide his own, and is content to do it, as well as he can. This lonely clergyman is a Presbyterian minister, who has a very large and respectable congregation; the other is composed of Quakers, who you know admit of no particular person, who in con-

sequence of being ordained becomes exclusively entitled to preach, to catechise, and to receive certain salaries for his trouble. Among them, every one may expound the Scriptures, who thinks he is called so to do; beside, as they admit of neither sacrament, baptism, nor any other outward forms whatever, such a man would be useless. Most of these people are continually at sea, and have often the most urgent reasons to worship the Parent of Nature in the midst of the storms which they encounter. These two sects live in perfect peace and harmony with each other; those ancient times of religious discords are now gone (I hope never to return) when each thought it meritorious, not only to damn the other, which would have been nothing, but to persecute and murther one another, for the glory of that Being, who requires no more of us, than that we should love one another and live! Every one goes to that place of worship which he likes best, and thinks not that his neighbour does wrong by not following him; each busily employed in their temporal affairs, is less vehement about spiritual ones, and fortunately you will find at Nantucket neither idle drones, voluptuous devotees, ranting enthusiasts, nor sour demagogues. I wish I had it in my power to send the most persecuting bigot I could find in —— to the whale fisheries; in less than three or four years you would find him a much more tractable man, and therefore a better Christian.

Singular as it may appear to you, there are but two medical professors on the island; for of what service can physic be in a primitive society, where the excesses of inebriation are so rare? What need of galenical medicines, where fevers, and stomachs loaded by the loss of the digestive powers, are so few? Temperance, the calm of passions, frugality, and continual exercise, keep them healthy, and preserve unimpaired that constitution which they have received from parents as healthy as themselves; who in the unpolluted embraces of the earliest and chastest love, conveyed to them the soundest bodily frame which nature could give. But as no habitable part of this globe is exempt from some diseases, proceeding either from climate or modes of living; here they are sometimes subject to consumptions and to fevers. Since the foundation of that town no epidemical distempers have appeared, which at times cause such depopulations in other countries; many of them are extremely well acquainted with the Indian methods of curing simple diseases, and practise them with success. You will hardly find anywhere a community, composed of the same number of individuals, possessing such uninterrupted health, and exhibiting so many green old men, who shew their advanced age by the maturity of their wis-

dom, rather than by the wrinkles of their faces; and this is indeed one of the principal blessings of the island, which richly compensates their want of the richer soils of the south; where iliac complaints and bilious fevers, grow by the side of the sugar cane, the ambrosial ananas, etc. The situation of this island, the purity of the air, the nature of their marine occupations, their virtue and moderation, are the causes of that vigour and health which they possess. The poverty of their soil has placed them, I hope, beyond the danger of conquest, or the wanton desire of extirpation. Were they to be driven from this spot, the only acquisition of the conquerors would be a few acres of land, inclosed and cultivated; a few houses, and some movables. The genius, the industry of the inhabitants would accompany them; and it is those alone which constitute the sole wealth of their island. Its present fame would perish, and in a few years it would return to its pristine state of barrenness and poverty: they might perhaps be allowed to transport themselves in their own vessels to some other spot or island, which they would soon fertilise by the same means with which they have fertilised this.

One single lawyer has of late years found means to live here, but his best fortune proceeds more from having married one of the wealthiest heiresses of the island, than from the emoluments of his practice: however he is sometimes employed in recovering money lent on the main, or in preventing those accidents to which the contentious propensity of its inhabitants may sometimes expose them. He is seldom employed as the means of self-defence, and much seldomer as the channel of attack; to which they are strangers, except the fraud is manifest, and the danger imminent. Lawyers are so numerous in all our populous towns, that I am surprised they never thought before of establishing themselves here: they are plants that will grow in any soil that is cultivated by the hands of others; and when once they have taken root they will extinguish every other vegetable that grows around them. The fortunes they daily acquire in every province, from the misfortunes of their fellow-citizens, are surprising! The most ignorant, the most bungling member of that profession, will, if placed in the most obscure part of the country, promote litigiousness, and amass more wealth without labour, than the most opulent farmer, with all his toils. They have so dexterously interwoven their doctrines and quirks with the laws of the land, or rather they are become so necessary an evil in our present constitutions, that it seems unavoidable and past all remedy. What a pity that our forefathers, who happily extinguished

so many fatal customs, and expunged from their new government so many errors and abuses, both religious and civil, did not also prevent the introduction of a set of men so dangerous! In some provinces, where every inhabitant is constantly employed in tilling and cultivating the earth, they are the only members of society who have any knowledge; let these provinces attest what iniquitous use they have made of that knowledge. They are here what the clergy were in past centuries with you; the reformation which clipped the clerical wings, is the boast of that age, and the happiest event that could possibly happen; a reformation equally useful is now wanted, to relieve us from the shameful shackles and the oppressive burthen under which we groan; this perhaps is impossible; but if mankind would not become too happy, it were an event most devoutly to be wished.

Here, happily, unoppressed with any civil bondage, this society of fishermen and merchants live, without any military establishments, without governors or any masters but the laws; and their civil code is so light, that it is never felt. A man may pass (as many have done whom I am acquainted with) through the various scenes of a long life, may struggle against a variety of adverse fortune, peaceably enjoy the good when it comes, and never in that long interval, apply to the law either for redress or assistance. The principal benefit it confers is the general protection of individuals, and this protection is purchased by the most moderate taxes, which are chearfully paid, and by the trifling duties incident in the course of their lawful trade (for they despise contraband). Nothing can be more simple than their municipal regulations, though similar to those of the other counties of the same province; because they are more detached from the rest, more distinct in their manners, as well as in the nature of the business they pursue, and more unconnected with the populous province to which they belong. The same simplicity attends the worship they pay to the Divinity; their elders are the only teachers of their congregations, the instructors of their youth, and often the example of their flock. They visit and comfort the sick; after death, the society bury them with their fathers, without pomp, prayers, or ceremonies; not a stone or monument is erected, to tell where any person was buried; their memory is preserved by tradition. The only essential memorial that is left of them, is their former industry, their kindness, their charity, or else their most conspicuous faults.

The Presbyterians live in great charity with them, and with one another; their minister as a true pastor of the gospel, inculcates to them the doctrines it contains, the rewards it promises, the punish-

ments it holds out to those who shall commit injustice. Nothing can be more disencumbered likewise from useless ceremonies and trifling forms than their mode of worship; it might with great propriety have been called a truly primitive one, had that of the Quakers never appeared. As fellow Christians, obeying the same legislator, they love and mutually assist each other in all their wants; as fellow labourers they unite with cordiality and without the least rancour in all their temporal schemes: no other emulation appears among them but in their sea excursions, in the art of fitting out their vessels; in that of sailing, in harpooning the whale, and in bringing home the greatest harvest. As fellow subjects they cheerfully obey the same laws, and pay the same duties: but let me not forget another peculiar characteristic of this community: there is not a slave I believe on the whole island, at least among the Friends; whilst slavery prevails all around them, this society alone, lamenting that shocking insult offered to humanity, have given the world a singular example of moderation, disinterestedness, and Christian charity, in emancipating their negroes. I shall explain to you farther, the singular virtue and merit to which it is so justly entitled by having set before the rest of their fellow-subjects so pleasing, so edifying a reformation. Happy the people who are subject to so mild a government; happy the government which has to rule over such harmless, and such industrious subjects!

While we are clearing forests, making the face of nature smile, draining marshes, cultivating wheat, and converting it into flour; they yearly skim from the surface of the sea riches equally necessary. Thus, had I leisure and abilities to lead you through this continent, I could show you an astonishing prospect very little known in Europe; one diffusive scene of happiness reaching from the sea-shores to the last settlements on the borders of the wilderness: an happiness, interrupted only by the folly of individuals, by our spirit of litigiousness, and by those unforeseen calamities, from which no human society can possibly be exempted. May the citizens of Nantucket dwell long here in uninterrupted peace, undisturbed either by the waves of the surrounding element, or the political commotions which sometimes agitate our continent.

## LETTER VIII

### Peculiar Customs at Nantucket

The manners of *the Friends* are entirely founded on that simplicity which is their boast, and their most distinguished characteristic;

and those manners have acquired the authority of laws. Here they are strongly attached to plainness of dress, as well as to that of language; insomuch that though some part of it may be ungrammatical, yet should any person who was born and brought up here, attempt to speak more correctly, he would be looked upon as a fop or an innovator. On the other hand, should a stranger come here and adopt their idiom in all its purity (as they deem it) this accomplishment would immediately procure him the most cordial reception; and they would cherish him like an ancient member of their society. So many impositions have they suffered on this account, that they begin now indeed to grow more cautious. They are so tenacious of their ancient habits of industry and frugality, that if any of them were to be seen with a long coat made of English cloth, on any other than the *first-day* (Sunday), he would be greatly ridiculed and censured; he would be looked upon as a careless spendthrift, whom it would be unsafe to trust, and in vain to relieve. A few years ago two *single-horse chairs* were imported from Boston, to the great offence of these prudent citizens; nothing appeared to them more culpable than the use of such gaudy painted vehicles, in contempt of the more useful and more simple *single-horse carts* of their fathers. This piece of extravagant and unknown luxury almost caused a schism, and set every tongue a-going; some predicted the approaching ruin of those families that had imported them; others feared the dangers of example; never since the foundation of the town had there happened anything which so much alarmed this primitive community. One of the possessors of these profane chairs, filled with repentance, wisely sent it back to the continent; the other, more obstinate and perverse, in defiance to all remonstrances persisted in the use of his chair until by degrees they became more reconciled to it; though I observed that the wealthiest and the most respectable people still go to meeting or to their farms in a *single-horse cart* with a decent awning fixed over it: indeed, if you consider their sandy soil, and the badness of their roads, these appear to be the best contrived vehicles for this island.

Idleness is the most heinous sin that can be committed in Nantucket: an idle man would soon be pointed out as an object of compassion: for idleness is considered as another word for want and hunger. This principle is so thoroughly well understood, and is become so universal, so prevailing a prejudice, that literally speaking, they are never idle. Even if they go to the market-place, which is (if I may be allowed the expression) the coffee-house of the town, either to transact

business, or to converse with their friends; they always have a piece of cedar in their hands, and while they are talking, they will, as it were instinctively, employ themselves in converting it into something useful, either in making bungs or spoyls for their oil casks, or other useful articles. I must confess, that I have never seen more ingenuity in the use of the knife; thus the most idle moments of their lives become usefully employed. In the many hours of leisure which their long cruises afford them, they cut and carve a variety of boxes and pretty toys, in wood, adapted to different uses; which they bring home as testimonies of remembrance to their wives or sweethearts. They have showed me a variety of little bowls and other implements, executed cooperwise, with the greatest neatness and elegance. You will be pleased to remember they are all brought up to the trade of coopers, be their future intentions or fortunes what they may; therefore almost every man in this island has always two knives in his pocket, one much larger than the other; and though they hold everything that is called *fashion* in the utmost contempt, yet they are as difficult to please, and as extravagant in the choice and price of their knives, as any young buck in Boston would be about his hat, buckles, or coat. As soon as a knife is injured, or superseded by a more convenient one, it is carefully laid up in some corner of their desk. I once saw upwards of fifty thus preserved at Mr. ——'s, one of the worthiest men on this island; and among the whole, there was not one that perfectly resembled another. As the sea excursions are often very long, their wives in their absence are necessarily obliged to transact business, to settle accounts, and in short, to rule and provide for their families. These circumstances being often repeated, give women the abilities as well as a taste for that kind of superintendency, to which, by their prudence and good management, they seem to be in general very equal. This employment ripens their judgment, and justly entitles them to a rank superior to that of other wives; and this is the principal reason why those of Nantucket as well as those of Montreal[1] are so fond of society, so affable, and so conversant with the affairs of the world. The men at their return, weary with the fatigues of the sea, full of confidence and love, cheerfully give their consent to every transaction that has happened during their absence, and all is joy and peace. "Wife, thee hast done well," is the general approbation they receive, for their application and

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[1] Most of the merchants and young men of Montreal spend the greatest part of their time in trading with the Indians, at an amazing distance from Canada; and it often happens that they are three years together absent from home.

industry. What would the men do without the agency of these faithful mates? The absence of so many of them at particular seasons, leaves the town quite desolate; and this mournful situation disposes the women to go to each other's house much oftener than when their husbands are at home: hence the custom of incessant visiting has infected every one, and even those whose husbands do not go abroad. The house is always cleaned before they set out, and with peculiar alacrity they pursue their intended visit, which consists of a social chat, a dish of tea, and an hearty supper. When the good man of the house returns from his labour, he peaceably goes after his wife and brings her home; meanwhile the young fellows, equally vigilant, easily find out which is the most convenient house, and there they assemble with the girls of the neighbourhood. Instead of cards, musical instruments, or songs, they relate stories of their whaling voyages, their various sea adventures, and talk of the different coasts and people they have visited. "The island of Catharine in the Brazil," says one, "is a very droll island, it is inhabited by none but men; women are not permitted to come in sight of it; not a woman is there on the whole island. Who among us is not glad it is not so here? The Nantucket girls and boys beat the world." At this innocent sally the titter goes round, they whisper to one another their spontaneous reflections: puddings, pies, and custards never fail to be produced on such occasions; for I believe there never were any people in their circumstances, who live so well, even to superabundance. As inebriation is unknown, and music, singing, and dancing, are held in equal detestation, they never could fill all the vacant hours of their lives without the repast of the table. Thus these young people sit and talk, and divert themselves as well as they can; if any one has lately returned from a cruise, he is generally the speaker of the night; they often all laugh and talk together, but they are happy, and would not exchange their pleasures for those of the most brilliant assemblies in Europe. This lasts until the father and mother return; when all retire to their respective homes, the men reconducting the partners of their affections.

Thus they spend many of the youthful evenings of their lives; no wonder therefore, that they marry so early. But no sooner have they undergone this ceremony than they cease to appear so cheerful and gay; the new rank they hold in the society impresses them with more serious ideas than were entertained before. The title of master of a family necessarily requires more solid behaviour and deportment; the new wife follows in the trammels of Custom, which are as power-

ful as the tyranny of fashion; she gradually advises and directs; the new husband soon goes to sea, he leaves her to learn and exercise the new government, in which she is entered. Those who stay at home are full as passive in general, at least with regard to the inferior departments of the family. But you must not imagine from this account that the Nantucket wives are turbulent, of high temper, and difficult to be ruled; on the contrary, the wives of Sherburn in so doing, comply only with the prevailing custom of the island: the husbands, equally submissive to the ancient and respectable manners of their country, submit, without ever suspecting that there can be any impropriety. Were they to behave otherwise, they would be afraid of subverting the principles of their society by altering its ancient rules; thus both parties are perfectly satisfied, and all is peace and concord. The richest person now in the island owes all his present prosperity and success to the ingenuity of his wife: this is a known fact which is well recorded; for while he was performing his first cruises, she traded with pins and needles, and kept a school. Afterward she purchased more considerable articles, which she sold with so much judgment, that she laid the foundation of a system of business, that she has ever since prosecuted with equal dexterity and success. She wrote to London, formed connections, and, in short, became the only ostensible instrument of that house, both at home and abroad. Who is he in this country, and who is a citizen of Nantucket or Boston who does not know *Aunt Kesiah?* I must tell you that she is the wife of Mr. C———n, a very respectable man, who, well pleased with all her schemes, trusts to her judgment, and relies on her sagacity, with so entire a confidence, as to be altogether passive to the concerns of his family. They have the best country seat on the island, at Quayes, where they live with hospitality, and in perfect union. He seems to be altogether the contemplative man.

To this dexterity in managing the husband's business whilst he is absent, the Nantucket wives unite a great deal of industry. They spin, or cause to be spun in their houses, abundance of wool and flax; and would be for ever disgraced and looked upon as idlers if all the family were not clad in good, neat, and sufficient homespun cloth. *First Days* are the only seasons when it is lawful for both sexes to exhibit some garments of English manufacture; even *these* are of the most moderate price, and of the gravest colours: there is no kind of difference in their dress, they are all clad alike, and resemble in that respect the members of one family.

A singular custom prevails here among the women, at which I was greatly surprised; and am really at a loss how to account for the original cause that has introduced in this primitive society so remarkable a fashion, or rather so extraordinary a want. They have adopted these many years the Asiatic custom of taking a dose of opium every morning; and so deeply rooted is it, that they would be at a loss how to live without this indulgence; they would rather be deprived of any necessary than forego their favourite luxury. This is much more prevailing among the women than the men, few of the latter having caught the contagion; though the sheriff, whom I may call the first person in the island, who is an eminent physician beside, and whom I had the pleasure of being well acquainted with, has for many years submitted to this custom. He takes three grains of it every day after breakfast, without the effects of which, he often told me, he was not able to transact any business.

It is hard to conceive how a people always happy and healthy, in consequence of the exercise and labour they undergo, never oppressed with the vapours of idleness, yet should want the fictitious effects of opium to preserve that cheerfulness to which their temperance, their climate, their happy situation so justly entitle them. But where is the society perfectly free from error or folly; the least imperfect is undoubtedly that where the greatest good preponderates; and agreeable to this rule, I can truly say, that I never was acquainted with a less vicious, or more harmless one.

The majority of the present inhabitants are the descendants of the twenty-seven first proprietors, who patenteed the island; of the rest, many others have since come over among them, chiefly from the Massachusetts: here are neither Scotch, Irish, nor French, as is the case in most other settlements; they are an unmixed English breed. The consequence of this extended connection is, that they are all in some degree related to each other: you must not be surprised therefore when I tell you, that they always call each other cousin, uncle or aunt; which are become such common appellations, that no other are made use of in their daily intercourse: you would be deemed stiff and affected were you to refuse conforming yourself to this ancient custom which truly depicts the image of a large family. The many who reside here that have not the least claim of relationship with any one in the town, yet by the power of custom make use of no other address in their conversation. Were you here yourself but a few days, you would

be obliged to adopt the same phraseology, which is far from being disagreeable, as it implies a general acquaintance and friendship, which connects them all in unity and peace.

Their taste for fishing has been so prevailing, that it has engrossed all their attention, and even prevented them from introducing some higher degree of perfection in their agriculture. There are many useful improvements which might have meliorated their soil; there are many trees which if transplanted here would have thriven extremely well, and would have served to shelter as well as decorate the favourite spots they have so carefully manured. The red cedar, the locust,[1] the button wood, I am persuaded would have grown here rapidly and to a great size, with many others; but their thoughts are turned altogether toward the sea. The Indian corn begins to yield them considerable crops, and the wheat sown on its stocks is become a very profitable grain; rye will grow with little care; they might raise if they would, an immense quantity of buck-wheat.

Such an island inhabited as I have described, is not the place where gay travellers should resort, in order to enjoy that variety of pleasures the more splendid towns of this continent afford. Not that they are wholly deprived of what we might call recreations, and innocent pastimes; but opulence, instead of luxuries and extravagancies, produces nothing more here than an increase of business, an additional degree of hospitality, greater neatness in the preparation of dishes, and better wines. They often walk and converse with each other, as I have observed before; and upon extraordinary occasions, will take a ride to Palpus, where there is an house of entertainment; but these rural amusements are conducted upon the same plan of moderation, as those in town. They are so simple as hardly to be described; the pleasure of going and returning together; of chatting and walking about, of throwing the bar, heaving stones, etc., are the only entertainments they are acquainted with. This is all they practise, and all they seem to desire. The house at Palpus is the general resort of those who possess the luxury of a horse and chaise, as well as of those who still retain, as the majority do, a predilection for their primitive vehicle. By resorting to that place they enjoy a change of air, they taste the pleasures of exercise; perhaps an exhilarating bowl, not at all improper in this climate, affords the chief indulgence known to these people, on the

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[1] A species of what we call here the two-thorn acacia: it yields the most valuable timber we have, and its shade is very beneficial to the growth and goodness of the grass.

days of their greatest festivity. The mounting a horse, must afford a most pleasing exercise to those men who are so much at sea. I was once invited to that house, and had the satisfaction of conducting thither one of the many beauties of that island (for it abounds with handsome women) dressed in all the bewitching attire of the most charming simplicity: like the rest of the company, she was cheerful without loud laughs, and smiling without affectation. They all appeared gay without levity. I had never before in my life seen so much unaffected mirth, mixed with so much modesty. The pleasures of the day were enjoyed with the greatest liveliness and the most innocent freedom; no disgusting pruderies, no coquettish airs tarnished this enlivening assembly: they behaved according to their native dispositions, the only rules of decorum with which they were acquainted. What would an European visitor have done here without a fiddle, without a dance, without cards? He would have called it an insipid assembly, and ranked this among the dullest days he had ever spent. This rural excursion had a very great affinity to those practised in our province, with this difference only, that we have no objection to the sportive dance, though conducted by the rough accents of some self-taught African fiddler. We returned as happy as we went; and the brightness of the moon kindly lengthened a day which had past, like other agreeable ones, with singular rapidity.

In order to view the island in its longest direction from the town, I took a ride to the easternmost parts of it, remarkable only for the Pochick Rip, where their best fish are caught. I past by the Tetoukèmah lots, which are the fields of the community; the fences were made of cedar posts and rails, and looked perfectly straight and neat; the various crops they enclosed were flourishing: thence I descended into Barrey's Valley, where the *blue* and the *spear* grass looked more abundant than I had seen on any other part of the island; thence to Gib's Pond; and arrived at last at Siàsconcèt. Several dwellings had been erected on this wild shore, for the purpose of sheltering the fishermen in the season of fishing; I found them all empty, except that particular one to which I had been directed. It was like the others, built on the highest part of the shore, in the face of the great ocean; the soil appeared to be composed of no other stratum but sand, covered with a thinly scattered herbage. What rendered this house still more worthy of notice in my eyes, was that it had been built on the ruins of one of the ancient huts, erected by the first settlers, for observing the appearance of the whales. Here lived a single family

without a neighbour; I had never before seen a spot better calculated to cherish contemplative ideas; perfectly unconnected with the great world, and far removed from its perturbations. The ever raging ocean was all that presented itself to the view of this family; it irresistibly attracted my whole attention: my eyes were involuntarily directed to the horizontal line of that watery surface, which is ever in motion, and ever threatening destruction to these shores. My ears were stunned with the roar of its waves rolling one over the other, as if impelled by a superior force to overwhelm the spot on which I stood. My nostrils involuntarily inhaled the saline vapours which arose from the dispersed particles of the foaming billows, or from the weeds scattered on the shores. My mind suggested a thousand vague reflections, pleasing in the hour of their spontaneous birth, but now half forgot, and all indistinct: and who is the landman that can behold without affright so singular an element, which by its impetuosity seems to be the destroyer of this poor planet, yet at particular times accumulates the scattered fragments and produces islands and continents fit for men to dwell on! Who can observe the regular vicissitudes of its waters without astonishment; now swelling themselves in order to penetrate through every river and opening, and thereby facilitate navigation; at other times retiring from the shores, to permit man to collect that variety of shell fish which is the support of the poor? Who can see the storms of wind, blowing sometimes with an impetuosity sufficiently strong even to move the earth, without feeling himself affected beyond the sphere of common ideas? Can this wind which but a few days ago refreshed our American fields, and cooled us in the shade, be the same element which now and then so powerfully convulses the waters of the sea, dismasts vessels, causes so many shipwrecks, and such extensive desolations? How diminutive does a man appear to himself when filled with these thoughts, and standing as I did on the verge of the ocean! This family lived entirely by fishing, for the plough has not dared yet to disturb the parched surface of the neighbouring plain; and to what purpose could this operation be performed! Where is it that mankind will not find safety, peace, and abundance, with freedom and civil happiness? Nothing was wanting here to make this a most philosophical retreat, but a few ancient trees, to shelter contemplation in its beloved solitude. There I saw a numerous family of children of various ages — the blessings of an early marriage; they were ruddy as the cherry, healthy as the fish they lived on, hardy as the pine knots: the eldest were already able to encounter the boisterous

waves, and shuddered not at their approach; early initiating themselves in the mysteries of that seafaring career, for which they were all intended: the younger, timid as yet, on the edge of a less agitated pool, were teaching themselves with nut-shells and pieces of wood, in imitation of boats, how to navigate in a future day the larger vessels of their father, through a rougher and deeper ocean. I stayed two days there on purpose to become acquainted with the different branches of their economy, and their manner of living in this singular retreat. The clams, the oysters of the shores, with the addition of Indian Dumplings,[1] constituted their daily and most substantial food. Larger fish were often caught on the neighbouring rip; these afforded them their greatest dainties; they had likewise plenty of smoked bacon. The noise of the wheels announced the industry of the mother and daughters; one of them had been bred a weaver, and having a loom in the house, found means of clothing the whole family; they were perfectly at ease, and seemed to want for nothing. I found very few books among these people, who have very little time for reading; the Bible and a few school tracts, both in the Nattick and English languages, constituted their most numerous libraries. I saw indeed several copies of Hudibras, and Josephus; but no one knows who first imported them. It is something extraordinary to see this people, professedly so grave, and strangers to every branch of literature, reading with pleasure the former work, which should seem to require some degree of taste, and antecedent historical knowledge. They all read it much, and can by memory repeat many passages; which yet I could not discover that they understood the beauties of. Is it not a little singular to see these books in the hands of fishermen, who are perfect strangers almost to any other? Josephus's history is indeed intelligible and much fitter for their modes of education and taste; as it describes the history of a people from whom we have received the prophecies which we believe, and the religious laws which we follow.

Learned travellers, returned from seeing the paintings and antiquities of Rome and Italy, still filled with the admiration and reverence they inspire, would hardly be persuaded that so contemptible a spot, which contains nothing remarkable but the genius and the industry of its inhabitants, could ever be an object worthy attention. But I, having never seen the beauties which Europe contains, cheerfully satisfy myself with attentively examining what my native country ex-

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[1] Indian Dumplings are a peculiar preparation of Indian meal, boiled in large lumps.

hibits: if we have neither ancient amphitheatres, gilded palaces, nor elevated spires; we enjoy in our woods a substantial happiness which the wonders of art cannot communicate. None among us suffer oppression either from government or religion; there are very few poor except the idle, and fortunately the force of example, and the most ample encouragement, soon create a new principle of activity, which had been extinguished perhaps in their native country, for want of those opportunities which so often compel honest Europeans to seek shelter among us. The means of procuring subsistence in Europe are limited; the army may be full, the navy may abound with seamen, the land perhaps wants no additional labourers, the manufacturer is overcharged with supernumerary hands; what then must become of the unemployed? Here, on the contrary, human industry has acquired a boundless field to exert itself in — a field which will not be fully cultivated in many ages!

# ADDED MATERIAL TO LETTERS FROM AN AMERICAN FARMER

*By* CREVECOEUR

The following is a free translation of a part of the material which was added by the author when publishing the French edition of 1787. The numbers indicate the pages in the French edition from which the paragraphs are taken, and the headings are ours.

### *95*

This region possesses none of the materials necessary for ship building or for the construction of houses; one finds there no stones or quarries. This proves what men can do when their industry is free and without hindrance.

### *Houses 99*

The finest rooms of the houses are covered with beautiful wallpaper. The cellars are all of the same size, built of stone raised two or three feet above the surface of the earth. Nothing could be simpler than this style of architecture.

### *100*

The streets of Sherburn are neither as straight nor as regular as I had expected, knowing that this town was founded by men who used the greatest regularity in everything that they do, and where order and method prevail.

### *102*

The odour of whale oil is an inevitable inconvenience to which one soon becomes accustomed.

### *Soil 103*

The inhabitants of this Island have found the means to fertilize the sands of the neighborhood. The mud of their streets, the manure of their cows and sheep, the mud of their harbor, their straws, fertilizers from the mainland, all has served; they have sought every means to enrich these sands, and they have succeeded. They have used as much industry and money as if an immense population already filled the continent and as if this place had been the last one on earth where men could live.

### *Crops 104*

The fields around Sherburn produce today corn, excellent potatoes, squashes, peas, beans, string beans, hops, rye, clover, buckwheat, etc. Squashes are a type of gourd which is excellent for eating and which the savages have taught us to cultivate, whose taste is delicious, particularly when cooked under the ashes.

### *Grasses 109*

One part of the surface of the Island is covered with wild sorrel, five fingers, plain grass, and blue grass. One finds in certain parts the bleu-bent, which is an excellent kind of grass. Towards the eastern part of the Island one sees several salt meadows; they are low lands near the sea or near a salt river, where fine and tall rushes grow, which are mown and which provide very good fodder for horses and livestock. This fodder, when spread on the ground is an excellent fertilizer and bestows a high degree of fertility.

### *Ponds 110*

I once had the pleasure of being present at the draining of Wiwida Pond. You would no doubt accuse me of partiality and ignorance if I dared say that the pure joy, the simple but charming recreations, the exercise which constituted this shore and country festival, composed of the good people of Sherburn, struck me much more than the sight of one of your operas although I know them only from descriptions. The other ponds help the inhabitants to divide the Island into several regions of pasture for their livestock.

### *Tetaukemah 112*

The common plantation, or the lots of Tetaukemah, during the space of seven years has become so enriched by fertilizer, by the plow, and by the clover which is sown after the harvest that this portion of the Island provides excellent pasture.

All the fields of this land are enclosed with posts, placed every ten feet and joined by five flat rails placed in a horizontal position.

### *Wool 113*

The wool of Nantucket is of excellent quality. The national flock provides more than 50,000 pounds. Their industrious women, from this make cloth for their husbands and children; the rest is sold to the families of strangers who have no sheep-pasture titles.

### *Shooting 115*

The island of Tuckanuck in the good season is covered with seabirds. It is then that the lazy people, or those just returned from voyages, go and amuse themselves for several days with easy and little tiring shooting. These two islands have neither deer, nor bears, nor foxes, nor wolves, so that the inhabitants raise a great number of poultry of every kind.

### *Clams 117*

The shores of this Island furnish three kinds of clams: the suciwags, or soft-shell; the quaghags, or hard-shell; the copsiwags which are found out at sea. Clams are a kind of shellfish, longer than oysters, whose shells are smooth and brown outside, purple and white inside; they weigh about a quarter of a pound each; no other fish is more nourishing. These clams remain motionless in the sand, and can be easily found because of an opening filled with water, which they shoot up at the approach of an enemy. I am astonished that the Europeans have never tried to transport and make common along their coasts, a fish which multiplies so easily and which would be so good for the seaside people of their countries.

### *Fish and Fecundity 131*

At Cape Cod in spite of the barren soil the land is densely populated: the enormous quantity of fish and shellfish which is the inhabitants chief food, adds greatly to the fertility of their women and has converted this unfruitful peninsula into a "tree nursery" of strong, healthy and courageous men, the best seamen of America.

### *132*

Sea spines are strange fish with very large scales which are placed at the foot of each plant of Indian corn to make it grow.

### *Youth 140*

The young men going to sea pass through all the grades of pilot, oarsmen, harpooners, etc. It is thus, with no exceptions, that all the youths of Nantucket begin. They would be ashamed to settle down without having passed through this sort of caravan.

If fortune brings them wealth, they learn by their own experience, what it has cost their parents to accumulate the goods they possess; if, on the other hand, they are not born wealthy, without this apprentice-

ship, how would they be able to earn their living and to settle down. It is this school which teaches them the art of catching whales, where they acquire courage and that seagoing audacity which has so justly given them the reputation of first navigators of the continent. It is there that they learn the rules of construction, expedition and recruiting of the ships. After three or four years of experience in this new career, they become capable of commanding a whaling ship; to become the correspondents of their fathers in several sea ports on the continent, or to enter their counting-houses.

### *Whale Boats 141*

The whaling boats are of American invention and construction; they are made of cedar, very light, and go faster than anything on water except the great canoes of the savages. They are called in English whaleboat.

### *Gulf Stream 143*

The "Island of sand" is ten leagues from Cape Breton; it is surrounded with banks of white sand, where an excellent kind of cod is caught. It is by travelling in this vicinity that men finally discovered, traced and followed, the great stream from the Gulf of Mexico; important discovery which should necessarily shorten the passage between Europe and America.

### *146*

The island prospers because under the shelter of just and humane laws its families live without fear of exclusive monopolies, arbitrary taxes, and the greeds of the public treasury.

### *Women 151*

The extreme fecundity of the New England women, their chastity, the simplicity of their customs, their sober and religious conduct, have produced and produce every day miracles of population to which several districts of this continent owe the numerous inhabitants which cultivate them today.

### *Pioneers 152*

Always Europe sends us its poor and unemployed, always our seagoing expeditions furnish men for a navigation which grows every year; our interior settlements are being filled every day, our agriculture is beginning to stretch everywhere. Already we have crossed the Alle-

ghany mountains. — What will we not do in one more century? — When one contemplates, as I often do, this vast field open to human industry, all the branches of future industry, all these alimentary resources, in fact the immensity and depth of this continent, the imagination is surprised at the number of men who will appear here one day as well as the wealth and strength this continent will achieve.

### *Harpooner 155*

The harpooner is dressed in a short jacket fitting the body closely with ribbons instead of buttons, his hair is held back in Canadian fashion by a handkerchief tightly tied at the back.

### *188*

The utmost simplicity of religious worship prevails; neither tithes, salaries nor any church expense are paid.

### *Carriages 191*

The one-horse carriages are American, very gentle and very convenient, and very elegant; they are suspended by four wooden springs ingeniously imagined and placed; there is no settler among us who does not have one. It is generally the property of women, who use them often to go and visit their neighbors.

### *Parties 197*

At an evening social assembly of the young, an excellent meal is provided, consisting, for example, of tea, chocolate, coffee, cakes, jam, slices of smoked beef. These persons would not exchange the European fuss, crowd and confusion for the simplicity, innocence, lively joy, enjoyed among them. These gatherings last until eleven o'clock. Is it then so astonishing that they marry so young? Their inclinations are never hindered by severe laws of convention, or by disproportionate rank and wealth; all among them are equal. To get married they need only two things, to love one another and the approval of their parents, which is not difficult to obtain.

### *Flames and Fertilizer 204*

They cultivate Indian corn in the fields which have been fertilized by their national flock: for this purpose they are led to grounds where they wish to sow. Three times during a night it is permissable to terrify their sheep with burning coals; each time terror forces them to depose their manure; during one night a flock of these animals fertilize and enrich to a great extent the field in which they are enclosed.

To throw the bar is an American exercise calling for skill and strength.

### *A Belle's Costume 207*

I had the pleasure of taking to a party at the Polpice Inn one of the most beautiful girls on the Island. Like the others, she was dressed with the simplest and most admirable elegance; the brightness of her complexion was wonderfully emphasized by the darkness of her beautiful hair; her whole outfit consisted of a grey silk dress, the extreme cleanliness and whiteness of an apron, of a handkerchief and a little flat bonnet of the most beautiful batiste; her head was covered on the way by a sort of hat of the type worn by Friends, made of black silk lined with white, the edges of which covered part of her back and shoulders; her waist was charming, without being too fine. This is the true picture I wished to give you of friend . . . who on that day, had chosen me as her companion. — When a woman is beautiful, what need has she of the vain resources of art? She has only to appear in any way, all eyes see and admire her. Ugliness, on the contrary, acquires by being decked out, only a more mortifying aspect; it requires obscurity and modesty.

### *The La Fayette Cheese Letter 384*

Translation of a letter from Nantucket, (a little island in the neighborhood of Cape Cod) written September 19, 1786, printed in the New Plymouth newspapers the 27th. of the same month.

"Although separated from the continent the inhabitants of this small heap of sand have nevertheless shared with the rest of their fellow-countrymen in the just tribute of gratitude merited by M. le Marquis de La Fayette for the great services he has rendered to the United States. A man prudent, wise and enlightened in peace, as he was gallant and clever in war, he has endeavoured to draw together the two nations already united by justice and politics. For that purpose he has conceived the idea of a commerce which would be mutually advantageous. To establish it on a solid and permanent basis and to obtain for us the means of paying for the commodities which we need from France, he has arranged that our whale oil, which with our herds constitutes our only wealth, will pay no other duties but those required by the Hanseatic towns. This generous concession of the French Government is for us fisherman a special advantage, serving to revive our discouraged industry and to keep us on this Island, our old homeland,

from which owing to the new order of things we would have been forced to emigrate.*

Moved by gratitude for so great a service the inhabitants of Nantucket assembled, voted and resolved that each one should give the milk from his cow, over a period of twenty-four hours; that the entire amount should be made into a cheese weighing five hundred pounds, which should be sent to M. le Marquis de La Fayette as a slight testimonial indeed of the sincere affection and gratitude of the inhabitants of Nantucket."

*Several of these families at this time were on the point of leaving for Nova Scotia.

# THE WHALE FISHERY

### BY A CITIZEN OF PHILADELPHIA — 1785

(*From the American Museum, Philadelphia 1789*)

There was not before the Revolution, and there is not now, any part in America, or in Europe, where whaling vessels can be fitted for sea, to so much advantage, as they can be at Nantucket. From long habit, and a perseverance peculiar to themselves, the people of this place, with their neighboring islanders, the inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard, have become the most expert and knowing in the whale fishery, of any people on earth. The merchants there, had for many years bent their whole attention to this branch of labour, had reduced every expense, and brought all their supplies, to the nicest point of saving: indeed the manners, dress, and living of most of the people on Nantucket, are models, from which all ranks ought to take pattern; and should this ever be the case, I may venture to affirm, that this commonwealth will become opulent, great, and respectable. It is not necessary to be of the religious profession of the quakers; but to use economy in living, plainness in dress, and frugality in all the appendages of furniture, carriages, etc. is what reason and common sense dictate to us. These people follow strictly those principles, and are the brightest example of those practices, which form the good American citizens, and the most profitable labourers in the community.

During the late revolution, this branch of labour (the whale fishery) almost ceased. In the year 1775, the inhabitants of Nantucket owned 150 sail of whaling vessels. In the year 1784, they had but 19 sail. In 1775, those vessels carried from ten to 11000 tons. In 1784, these carried only 2400 tons. A decline, in so excessive a degree, of so great a part of the profitable labour in the state, could not, after the peace, pass long unobserved by the legislature. Accordingly, in a late general court, there was a bounty granted, of twenty dollars per ton, on all oil, caught in vessels, the property of citizens of the commonwealth: but I am afraid, whilst Great Britian opposes it, by an eighty dollar duty, that, unless other markets shall be found, that will take it off our hands, at a profit, this great branch of our labour must fall, or be removed to Nova Scotia or to England, where the high price is a bait, which several have not, and more will not be able to resist.

## THE GULF STREAM

By DR. FRANKLIN. *First published, with a map in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, in 1786. The following is from a reprint, but with a slightly different map, appearing in the American Museum, Philadelphia, March 1789.*

> *Remarks upon the navigation from Newfoundland to New York, in order to avoid the gulf stream on one hand, and on the other the shoals that lie to the southward of Nantucket and of St. George's Banks.*
>
> *By dr. Franklin.*

After you have passed the Banks of Newfoundland in about the 44th degree of latitude, you will meet with nothing, till you draw near the isle of Sables, which we commonly pass in latitude 43. Southward of this isle, the current is found to extend itself as far north as 41° 20′ or 30′, then it turns towards the E. S. E. or S. E. ¼ E.

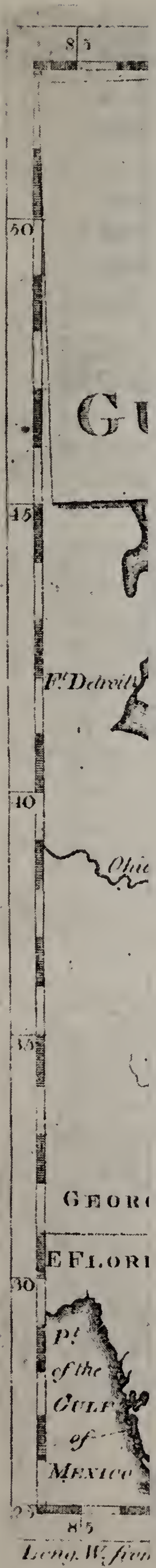
Having passed the isle of Sables, shape your course for the St. George's Banks, so as to pass them in about latitude 40°, because the current southward of those banks reaches as far north as 39°. The shoals of those banks lie in 41° 35′.

After having passed St. George's Banks, you must, to clear Nantucket, form your course so as to pass between the latitudes 38° 30′ and 40° 45′.

The most southern part of the shoals of Nantucket lies in about 40° 45′. The northern part of the current directly to the south of Nantucket, is felt in about latitude 38° 30′.

By observing these directions, and keeping between the stream and the shoals, the passage, from the Banks of Newfoundland to New York, Delaware, or Virginia, may be considerably shortened; for so you will have the advantage of the eddy current, which moves contrary to the gulf stream. Whereas, if, to avoid the shoals, you keep too far to the southward, and get into that stream, you will be retarded by it at the rate of sixty or seventy miles a day.

The Nantucket whalemen being extremely well acquainted with the gulf stream, its course, strength, and extent, by their constant practice of whaling on the edges of it, from their island quite down to the Bahamas, the annexed draft of that stream was obtained from one of them, captain Folger, and caused to be engraved on the old chart in London, for the benefit of navigators by B. Franklin.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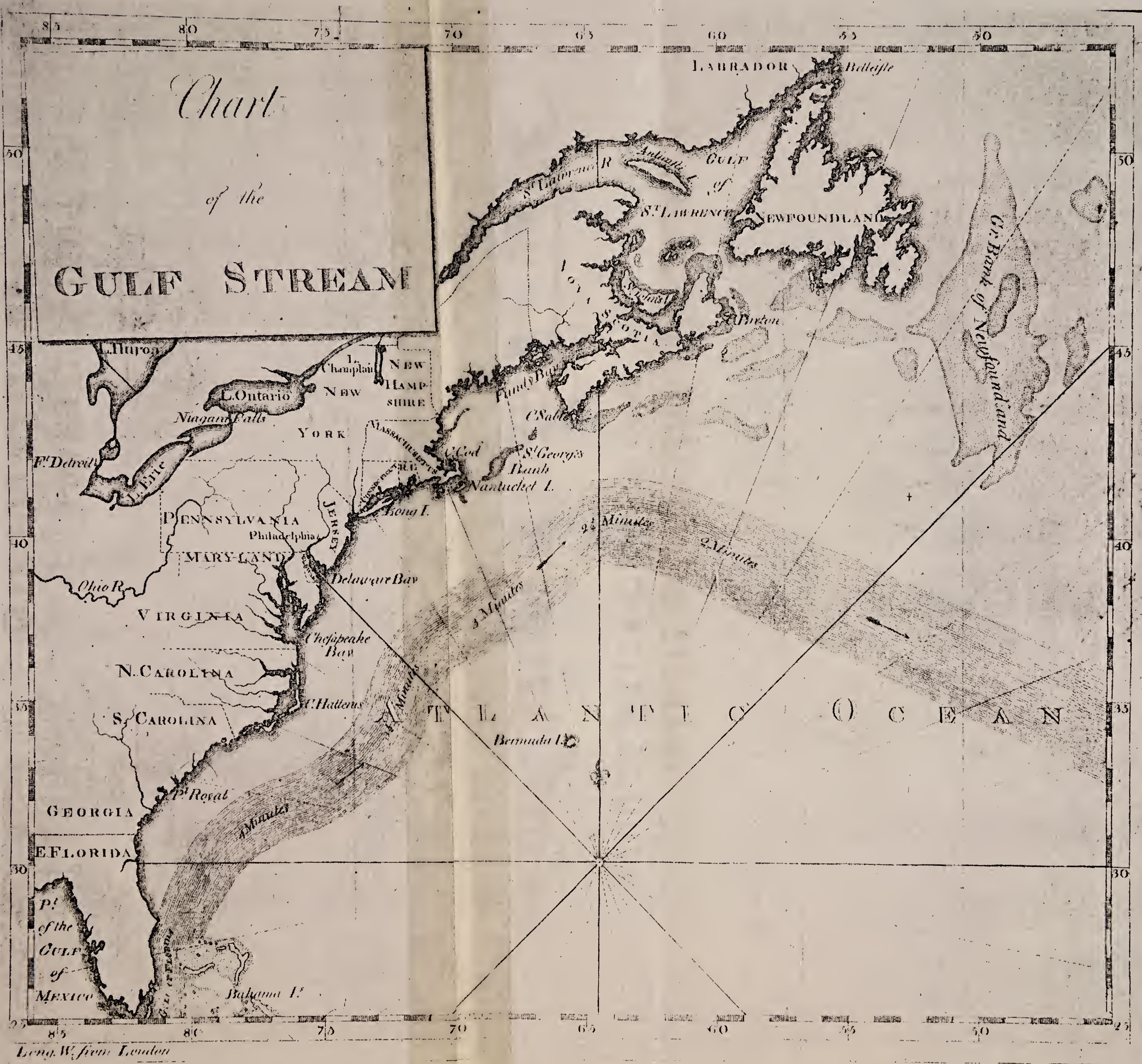

Chart of the GULF STREAM

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30
25
LABRADOR
Belleisle
St. Lawrence R
Anticosti I.
GULF of St. LAWRENCE
NEWFOUNDLAND
Gt. Bank of Newfoundland
NOVA SCOTIA
St. Johns I.
C. Breton
Fundy Bay
C. Sable
St. George's Bank
Nantucket I.
C. Cod
L. Huron
L. Champlain
NEW HAMPSHIRE
L. Ontario
NEW YORK
Niagara Falls
MASSACHUSETTS
Ft. Detroit
L. Erie
CONNECTICUT
R.I.
JERSEY
Long I.
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
MARY-LAND
Delaware Bay
Ohio R.
VIRGINIA
Chesapeake Bay
N. CAROLINA
C. Hatteras
S. CAROLINA
GEORGIA
Pt. Royal
E. FLORIDA
Pt. of the GULF of MEXICO
G. of FLORIDA
Bahama I.
Bermuda I.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
4 Minutes
3 Minutes
3 Minutes
2¼ Minutes
2 Minutes

Long. W. from London

The Nantucket captains, who are acquainted with this stream, make their voyages from England to Boston in as short a time generally as others take in going from Boston to England, viz. from twenty to thirty days.

A stranger may know when he is in the gulf stream, by the warmth of the water, which is much greater than that of the water on each side of it. If then he is bound to the westward, he should cross the stream, to get out of it as soon as possible.

## PROPOSAL TO TRANSFER WHALING TO FRANCE

(*From Obed Macy's History of Nantucket*)

Dunkerque, 10th March, 1786.

Captain Shubael Gardner.

The present distressed situation of your worthy brethren, the inhabitants of the Island of Nantucket, occasioned not only by their unmerited suffering during the late war, and by the late act of the British government, which imposes a duty on all foreign oil equivalent to a prohibition, obliging a great many of the sufferers to quit their natif-spot and remove to some other country, where their industry may meet its due reward, has created in me the idea to procure them an azilum in my own country, where they may not only find an alleviation of their misfortunes and recuperate their losses, but also where they may expect that comfort and protection due to their honest principles. Anxious to accomplish an object, in which I am moved by no other motif than that of humanity, and a desire of offering a friendly hand to a set of people who in my opinion greatly deserve the assistance of all men who can be instrumental in contributing to the welfare of their fellow-creatures, has induced me, after a mature conversation with you on so laudable an object, to make an application to this government in their behalf, and to make use of all the interest with the king's ministers I was capable of, to make such proposals as were penned by our friend William Rotch, and which you delivered me in his name on your arrival from London in November last. I think it needless to repeat here the exertions I have made, as well by my correspondence as by word of mouth, during the time we were together at Paris, as you was personally present, and of which you shall be able to give an exact account. Through the assistance of Providence, my exertions have met with a success far exceeding my sanguine expectations. Every article which I thought capable of contributing to the welfare and happiness of those inhabitants, who would choose to remove to the town of Dunkerque, has been granted. I here join a faithful translation of the articles, which I request, on your arrival at Nantucket, you will communicate, with all the prudence you are capable of, to the selectmen of the island, and acquaint them with all the real advantages the town, port and country offers for their establishment. The unlimited freedom it enjoys, the abundance and cheapness of all sorts of provisions, no custom-house nor custom officers to embarrass a free trade, the small taxes, the regularity of the town,

the manners and industry of the inhabitants, and its situation, render it the most eligible place in the universe for the people of Nantucket to remove to. To particularize all the advantages Dunkerque offers, would be too long a task for a letter; but as you are well acquainted with them, you may verbally add those which are not here related. You may also communicate to the selectmen the negotiation commenced with our friend William Rotch, and inform them of the predicament he finds himself under at present by the inattention of the British government to the business he is intrusted with. The knowledge of all these circumstances appears to me necessary, in order to enable the people to judge what plan will be most advantageous to follow. Unless they should be blinded to their own interest, there is no doubt but they will prefer that which is here proposed. Therefore, as I have reason to hope that they will be sensible of the advantages offered them, your first care must be to engage them to name and impower a committee to correspond with me on this subject, and you may assure them of my friendship and ready interference and exertions in the obtention of any other matter, which has not been foreseen by the annexed articles. You may assure the proprietors of the ships, that are now on their fishery, that, if they choose to send them with their cargoes and family on board with an intention to settle, their oil shall be admitted in the country duty free, and that they will enjoy all the advantages and privileges of the natif subjects. On their arrival, they shall be put in possession of the ground alloted to them, and in every respect experience the reality of what I advance. As your stay at Nantucket will be short, on account of the advancement of the season, which will barely leave you time to proceed on the fishery, it is absolutely necessary that the committee of such trustworthy men be appointed to correspond with me by every conveyance to Europe, and if you find the people disposed to remove, you may transfer to such committee the power, that is herewith intrusted to you, of chartering one or two ships, at the most reasonable freight that can be obtained, to transfer a number of tradesmen that are not able to transport themselves at their own expense, proportionable to the number of ships that will stand in need of their assistance when arrived, provided that the expense of freight and provisions for the passage does not exceed at first fifteen or eighteen hundred pounds sterling. The committee, after a knowledge of the disposition of the people, may appreciate and inform me, as near as possible, what the whole expense of transporting may amount to, in order to obtain authorization to pay it.

The committee may likewise send one of the members, by the first ship that will come here, with full powers and instructions to conclude in due form all articles and conditions which may appear necessary to the accomplishment of such a desirable object. But it is absolutely necessary that the greatest secrecy and prudence be observed by all parties in the whole course of the negotiation, in order to avoid creating jealousy between two nations, on whom the tranquility of the world depends, and save mankind from a repetition of the horrors of war, which have brought on the people of Nantucket their present distresses. I am sensible that leaving one's natif spot and separating from some of the nearest connexions is an unpleasing step, but of two evils the least must be preferred; and the people, in their present situation, must, in my opinion, offer their thanks to Divine Providence, that a mild, humane and generous government offers them a safe azilum, and a friendly hand to alleviate their distress and make them and their posterity happy. I rely on your best exertions to carry on this business to a favorable issue. It will not only tend towards many personal advantages towards yourself, but it will reconcile you the gratitude of the people on both sides. You may assure the inhabitants of my constant protection and friendship, and that in all occasions I shall be their zealous advocate, and as I am no ways induced by view of personal interest, I shall recommend them to such trustworthy merchants here, to whom they may at first consign their ships and cargoes till they will be able to manage their own business themselves, and in every other respect give them the best advice in my power. I shall be anxious to hear from you, therefore I request you will neglect no opportunity to write to me, interim I wish you a safe and speedy voyage, and remain with lasting regard,

Dear friend, your truly affectionate friend,

L. Coffin.

Copy of the advantages, granted to the people of the Island of Nantucket, who may wish to settle at Dunkirk, and establish the whale fishery.

1st. An entire free exercise of their religion or worship within themselves.

2d. The concession of a tract of ground to build their houses and stores.

3d. All the privileges, exemptions and advantages promised by the king's declaration in 1662, confirmed by letters patent of 1784, to all strangers who come to establish there, which are the same as those enjoyed by the natif subjects of his majesty.

4th. The importation into the kingdom, free from all duties whatever, of the oil proceeding from their fishery, and the same premiums and encouragement granted for the cod and other fisheries to natif subjects.

5th. A premium per ton on the burthen of the vessels that will carry on the whale fishery, which shall be determined in the course of the negotiation either with Mr. Rotch or with the selectmen of the island.

6th. All objects of provisions and victuals for their ships shall be exempted from all duties whatever.

7th. An additional and heavier duty shall be laid on all foreign oil, as a further encouragement to them, in order to facilitate the sale of their own.

8th. The expenses of removing those of the inhabitants, who are not capable of defraying themselves, shall be paid by the government.

9th. A convenient dock shall be built to repair their ships.

10th. All trades-people, such as smiths, boat-builders, coopers, and others, shall be admitted to the free exercise of their trade without being liable to the forms and expense usually practised and paid by the natif subjects for their admittance to mastership.

11th. They shall have liberty to command their own vessels, and have the choice of their own people to navigate them.

12th. They shall be free from all military and naval service, as well in war as in peace, in the same manner and extent as expressed by the king's ordinance of the 16th of February, 1759.

Nantucket, June the fifteenth,
one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six.

I Abner Coffin, notary and tabellion public, by legal authority duly constituted, dwelling in Sherborn, in the county of Nantucket, in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, do hereby certify and attest, that the letter of instructions and twelve articles preceding this certificate are genuine copies of the original, to me the said notary from Shubael Gardner produced.

In witness whereof I have hereunto affixed my notarial seal and signature.

In testimonium veritatis,
(Seal) Abner Coffin, Not. Pub.

## LETTER FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO HIS SISTER

Austin Strong has discovered and presents for our publication this amusing paragraph to Mrs. James McCom, to be found in Vol. X, page 33, of the Writings of Benjamin Franklin by Albert Henry Smyth.

Phila. Aug. 3, 1789

> "Dear Sister: I think our Family were always subject to being a little Miffy. By the way, is our Relationship in Nantucket quite worn out? I have met with none from there of late years, who were disposed to be acquainted with me except Captain Timothy Foulger. They are wonderfully shy. But I admire their honest plainess of speech. About a year ago I invited two of them to dine with me. Their answer was, that they would, if they could not do better. I suppose they did better, for I never saw them afterwards and so had no opportunity of showing my Miff if I had one."

## ZACCHEUS MACY

Born at Nantucket, 1713; died 1797. He was for some forty years the principal surgeon on the Island and is said to have performed over two thousand operations. His technique was assuredly different from that of the present day surgeons, including his custom of refusing to accept pay for any services, regarding it as a proper duty to thus serve his fellowmen. He was a man of prominence and civic enterprise.

## WALTER FOLGER, JR.

In many respects he was Nantucket's most distinguished son. Born in 1765, he was self-educated, without college or technical training. He mastered the French language and corresponded with many famous scientists. He was recognized as a philosopher, inventor, artisan, astronomer, mathematician, navigator, civil and mechanical engineer, surveyor, and practiced law for twenty years. He served as judge for six years, in the Massachusetts House one year, in the Senate six years, and four years in the Congress at Washington. As a writer he frequently contributed to the Journals of the time.

The famous astronomical clock was designed and built by him in less than two years; it was set in motion July 4, 1787, and is now at the Fair Street Museum. The astronomical movement controls the motions of the sun and moon, one works through a period of eighteen years and two hundred and twenty-five days; the wheel, advertising the date of the year completes its revolution in a hundred years.

The telescope, also at the Historical rooms, he finished in 1820 after about a year's work. It was the first made in this country and involved original design and methods of construction, including the grinding of the lenses.

The foregoing describes two of the authors of following articles.

# A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF NANTUCKET BY WALTER FOLGER, JUN. 1791

FROM 1ST. SERIES, VOL. III MASS. HIST. SOC. COLLECTIONS

SITUATION AND EXTENT.] Between 69° 56′ and 70° 13½′ weft longitude. Between 41° 13′ and 41° 22½′ north latitude. 15 miles in length. 11 miles in breadth.

BOUNDARIES.] It is bounded on all fides by the ocean, being about eight leagues to the fouthward from Cape Cod.

CLIMATE, SOIL, SEASONS, AND WATER.] The climate of Nantucket is mild, when compared with the neighbouring country, owing perhaps to its being fituated in the ocean. The air is not fo hot and fultry in fummer, nor fo cold in winter, as it is on the main. The inhabitants enjoy a cool fea breeze, which for the moft part makes it healthy.

The foil of Nantucket is for the moft part light and fandy, if we except fome part of the land where the town now ftands, and fome part of the eaft end of the ifland, which is a loamy and rich foil.

There can be but little faid of the waters, except that the ifland is well watered with ponds and fprings, but as to their medicinal qualities, if they have any, they have not been discovered. The waters of many wells in the town are impregnated with an earthy and faline fubftance, which renders them difagreeable to thofe who are not accuftomed to them.

BAYS, &C.] There is but one bay of any note, and that is formed by a long fandy point, which runs from the eaft end of the ifland to the north and weftward (on which ftands a light-houfe, erected by the Maffachufetts State, in 1784) and the north fhore of the ifland, as far as Eel Point. This makes a fine road for fhips, except with the wind at the N. W. when there is a heavy fwell.

The harbour is a bafin within the bay, the entrance of which is obftructed by a fand-bar, on which there are no more than feven feet and a half of water at low water, and in fome places no more than three feet and a half; but within there are twelve and fourteen feet of water.

ANIMAL PRODUCTIONS BY SEA AND LAND.] The fea produces many kinds of fifh, fuch as cod, hallibut, fturgeon, fhad, herring, bafs, eels, and a number of other kinds.

On the land are horfes, cattle, fheep, and hogs, which are not very different from thofe of the neighbouring country.

Population, Inhabitants, Manners, and Customs.] According to an enumeration taken in 1790, Nantucket contained males above fixteen years of age eleven hundred and ninety-three; males under fixteen years ten hundred and fixteen; females two thoufand, three hundred; blacks of all ages and fexes, not including Indians, one hundred and ten; total of males two thoufand two hundred and nine; the whole number of inhabitants was four thoufand, fix hundred and nineteen.

The inhabitants are for the more part a robuft and enterprifing people moftly feamen and mechanicks. The feamen are the moft expert whalemen in the world: for a proof of which one need only confider the efforts that France and England have been making to draw them away, for the purpofe of conducting their fifheries.

One reafon perhaps of the Nantucket men's being fo dexterous in killing the whale is, that they have but little opportunity of going in any other fervice. The boys, as foon as they can talk, will make ufe of the common phrafes, as *townor,* which is an Indian word, and fignifies that they have feen the whale twice; and as foon as they are fome years older, they are feen rowing in boats for diverfion, which makes them expert oarfmen, a thing that is requifite in taking the whale.

The inhabitants are moftly ingenious in ufing mechanical tools. It is no sfrange thing to fee the fame man occupy the ftation of a merchant, at other times that of a hufbandman, of a blackfmith, or of a cooper, or a number of other occupations.

The women are thought to be handfome. They make good wives, tender mothers, kind and obliging neighbours. The inhabitants live together like one great family, not in one houfe, but in friendfhip. They not only know their neareft neighbours, but each one knows all the reft. If you fhould wifh to fee any man, you need but afk the firft inhabitant you meet, and he will be able to conduct you to his refidence, to tell what occupation he is of, and any other particulars you may wifh to know.

Vegetable Productions.] Before we treat of vegetable productions, it may be neceffary to inform the readers that the land is held in common; that is, the ifland is fuppofed to be divided into twenty feven fhares (except fome part of the eaft end of the ifland known by

the name of Squam, and fome few other pieces, which are held as private farms.) Each fhare is entitled to a certain portion of land, which the owner may take up in any part of the common land and convert it to what ufe he thinks proper. Each fhare is fubdivided into leffer parts, called cows' commons, which give the proprietor a privilege to turn out as many cows or other cattle as he owns of fuch parts in common or other flock, in the proportion of one horfe or fixteen fheep to two cows' commons; which flock feed on any part of the land that is not converted into a field. All the cows feed together in one herd to the amount of about five hundred. All the fheep feed in one pafture, and each man knows his own by marks made in the ears by cutting them in different forms. In order to fhear them, they are all driven into one large yard, where each man goes, picks out his own fheep, and fhears them, which commonly takes up two days, and is performed about the 20th June; at which time and place moft of the inhabitants affemble for the fake of diverfion. The proprietors commonly plan about twenty five acres of corn to a fhare, which are fix hundred and feventy five acres for the whole twenty feven fhares, which are in one field, and will produce on an average twelve bufhels to the acre; that number multiplied by fix hundred and feventy five, gives eight thoufand one hundred bufhels. The next year the fame land is fowed with rye and oats; about eighty one acres with rye. The produce about fix bufhels to an acre, is four hundred and eighty fix bufhels. The remainder, five hundred and ninety-four acres, is fowed with oats, which produces about fourteen bufhels to an acre, that is eight thoufand three hundred and fixteen bufhels. On the private farms there are about two hundred acres planted with corn, which will yield twenty bufhels to the acre, and as many acres for rye and oats.

It may be remarked, that the ifland is continually wafting on each fide by the feas wafhing the fhores.

There have been many times found at the bottom of wells, at the depth of forty and fifty feet, and after digging through feveral ftrata of earth, fuch as clay, &c. fhells of the fame kind as are now found on the fhores of the ifland; and in all, at the level of the fea, is found the fame kind of fand as is on the fhores. In many it has the appearance of having been once the boundary between the fea and land, by its declining from a horizontal level.

*Nantucket, May* 21, 1791.

# A JOURNAL OF NANTUCKET BY ZACCHEUS MACY—1792

FROM 1ST SERIES, VOL. III MASS. HIST. SOC. COLLECTIONS

*A fhort Journal of the firft fettlement of the ifland of NANTUCKET, with fome of the moft remarkable things that have happened fince, to the prefent time. By* ZACCHEUS MACY.

Firft, I find that the original right of Nantucket was obtained by Thomas Mayhew of James Forrett, agent to William, earl of Stirling, the 13th day of the tenth month, in the year 1641, at New York; and that by the faid Mayhew nine tenths of it were conveyed to nine other proprietors, named below, the 2d day of the feventh month, in the year 1659.

The firft meeting of the proprietors was held at Salifbury, the 2d day of the feventh month, in the year 1659, in order to take in their partners.

Firft, the partner of Thomas Mayhew was John Smith;—of Triftram Coffin—Nathaniel Starbuck;—of Thomas Macy—Edward Starbuck; —of Richard Swain—Thomas Look;—of Thomas Barnard—Robert Barnard;—of Peter Coffin—James Coffin; of Chriftopher Huffey—Robert Pike;—of Stephen Greenleaf—Triftram Coffin, junior;—of John Swain—Thomas Coleman. William Pile fold his whole tenth to Richard Swain.

At the fame meeting, the above named perfons agreed to have ten other partners, who fhould each have half as much land as themfelves, called for that reafon half fhare men. They alfo agreed that John Bifhop fhould have two of the faid half fhares. And after they came to Nantucket, they granted the following rights:—To Thomas Macy one half fhare in the year 1663;—to Richard Gardiner two ditto, in 1666;—to Jofeph Gardiner one ditto, in 1667;—to Jofeph Coleman one ditto, in 1665;—to William Worth two ditto, in 1662 and in 1674;—to Peter and Eleazer Folger two ditto in 1662;—to John Gardiner two ditto in 1672; to Samuel Stretor one ditto in 1669;—to Nathaniel Wier one half of a fort of a poor one, in 1667. Which in the whole make twenty feven fhares. But at this time there are near three hundred proprietors of the ifland. One fhare is limited to keep feven hundred and twenty fheep. Sixteen fheep are reckoned equivalent to one horfe; and eight fheep, to one ox or cow. The property is

very unequally divided, varying from one ſheep commons right to fourteen hundred ſheep commons right. Clerks of the ſheep yards are appointed, who on their books credit each proprietor with his rights, and make him debtor for his cattle, horſes, and ſheep. About the 20th of the ſixth month, the ſheep are driven to the yards, to be ſheared. At this time each proprietor gives in to the clerks the number of his ſheep, cattle, and horſes, that he may be charged with them on the books. And if they be more than he is entitled to by his rights, he hires of his neighbours who have leſs. But if the proprietors all together have more than their number, the overplus are either killed or tranſported from the iſland. Beſide the commons, there are ſundry lands, ſwamps, and ſalt-meadows, which are divided among the proprietors in proportion to their ſhares, and are made uſe of for houſe lots, mowing land, and paſtures. A proprietor may keep his ſheep either on the common, or on the ſaid lots and paſtures, as ſuits him beſt. But he is not allowed, when he has more than his number, to remove the overplus from the commons to the paſtures: becauſe by the agreement, a ſhare is entitled to keep no more than ſeven hundred and twenty ſheep on the whole commons and paſtures taken together.

### *Of the firſt coming of the Engliſh to Nantucket.*

In the year 1659, Thomas Macy removed with his family from Saliſbury, in the county of Eſſex, to the weſt end of the iſland, to a place called in the Indian tongue, Madakit Harbour. Thither came Edward Starbuck, James Coffin, and one Daget, from Martha's Vineyard, for the ſake of gunning, and lived with him as Boarders. At that time there were near *three thouſand* Indians on Nantucket. I cannot find that the Engliſh had any material quarrel or difficulty with them. They were willing to ſell their lands; and the Engliſh went on purchaſing, beginning at the weſt end of the iſland, till in fine they have obtained the whole, except ſome ſmall rights, which are ſtill retained by the natives.

### *Of the Whale Fiſhery.*

The whale fiſhery began at Nantucket in the year 1690. One Ichabod Paddock came from Cape Cod to inſtruct the people in the art of killing whales, in boats from the ſhore. This buſineſs flouriſhed till about the year 1760, when the whales appeared generally to have deſerted the coaſt. It is remarkable, that during all that time, not a ſingle man was killed by a whale, or drowned whilſt engaged in this

hazardous employment. But it happened once, when there were about thirty boats about ſix miles from the ſhore, that the wind came round to the northward, and blew with great violence, attended with ſnow. The men all rowed hard, but made but little head way. In one of the boats there were four Indians and two white men. An old Indian in the head of the boat, perceiving that the crew began to be diſheartened, ſpake out loud in his own tongue and ſaid, *Momadichchator auqua ſarſhkee ſarnkee pinchee eyoo ſememoochkee chaquanks wihchee pinchee eyoo:* which in Engliſh is, "Pull a head with courage: do not be diſheartened: we ſhall not be loſt now: there are too many Engliſhmen to be loſt now." His ſpeaking in this manner gave the crew new courage. They ſoon perceived that they made head way; and after rowing, they all got ſafe on ſhore.

In the year 1718, the inhabitants began to purſue whales on the ocean, in ſmall ſloops and ſchooners, from thirty to forty-five tons. The blubber was brought home in large ſquare pieces, and *tried* or boiled in try-houſes. In a few years, veſſels from fifty to eighty tons were employed, and the oil boiled out in try works at ſea. When the late war began with Great Britain we had a fleet of about one hundred and forty ſail, conſiſting of large ſloops, ſchooners, and brigs. But when the war ended, we were reduced to about thirty old hulks. Our voyages are now long and diſtant. We are obliged therefore, to have veſſels ſo large, that few perſons are able to fit them out. For a great many of our moſt ſubſtantial men, allured by the hope of large bounties, have removed from the iſland; ſome to England, ſome to France, and others to Halifax, where they carry on the whale fiſhery. This is a great damage to us, and perhaps to our country in general. If theſe perſons had carried away with them their part of the poor, it would have lightened our burdens; for we have now left two hundred and fifteen widows, of whom not thirty are able to ſupport themſelves without the aſſiſtance of their friends and neighbours, and ſome are maintained by the town. We have beſides a great number of poor, and some who are wretchedly poor. But then, on the other hand, we have a conſiderable number of able induſtrious men, who carry on the whale fiſhery, which is great help to the whole town at this day.

### *Deſcription of the Iſland.*

Nantucket is about fourteen miles long, eaſt and weſt, and about three miles and an half wide.* The ſouth ſide is very clear of ſtones. I never ſaw a ſtone along the ſhore bigger than a man's head. The

foil is thin, but will bear Indian corn, rye, oats, and feed for our cattle. The north fide is in feveral places, fomewhat ftony, and produces pretty good Englifh hay. The wood being entirely gone, and few fhrubs left to fhelter the ground againft the cold winds and hard winters, the profits of our farming bufinefs are much reduced. Since my time, we called it only a middling crop, when we got from eighteen to twenty bufhels of Indian corn from an acre. But now, when we get from twelve to fourteen bufhels, we efteem it a tolerable crop. The profit on our fheep is alfo much reduced. The rule of our old men was, when they had a hundred lambs, they would kill fifty fheep that year, and leave fifty lambs to keep their flock good, and it would generally do it. But for ten or twelve years paft, when we have a hundred lambs if we kill thirty fheep, and leave feventy lambs, it will not leave our flock good.

The town ftands near the middle of the ifland, on the north fide, having the harbour on the eaft, at a place called in the Indian language Wefko, which fignifies *the white ftone*. This white ftone lies by the fide of the harbour, and is now covered by the wharf.

**This account differs from that of Mr. Folger. (See page 153.) As Nantucket is of an irregular fhape, it is not eafy to determine its length and breadth. Including Sandy Point, the breadth in one part is eleven miles; but the general breadth is not more than three miles and a half.*

### *Of the Indians.*

The natives of Nantucket were a kind people, and very friendly to each other. There were no poor perfons among them. For when any of them grew old and helplefs, and went to a neighbour's houfe, they were made welcome to ftay as long as they pleafed. If the Englifh entered their houfes, whilft they were eating, they would offer them fuch as they had, which fometimes would be very good. At their feafts they had feveral forts of good food, and very good ftrong beer. By drinking rum, their numbers were fo much reduced that in the year 1763, there were but three hundred and fifty-eight left on the ifland. In that year an uncommon mortal diftemper attacked them. It began the 16th of the eighth month, 1763, and lafted till the 16th of the fecond month, 1764. During that period two hundred and twenty-two died. Thirty-four were fick and recovered. Thirty-fix who lived among them, efcaped the diforder. Eight lived at the weft end of the ifland, and did not go among them: none of them caught the difeafe.

Eighteen were at fea. With the Englifh lived forty, of whom none died. The Indians are now reduced to four males and fixteen females. Before this period, and from the firft coming of the Englifh to Nantucket, a large fat fifh, called the blue fifh, thirty of which would fill a barrel, was caught in great plenty all round the ifland, from the 1ft of the fixth month till the middle of the ninth month. But it is remarkable, that in the year 1764, the very year in which the ficknefs ended, they all difappeared, and that none have ever been taken fince. This has been a great lofs to us.

In the year 1665, King Philip came to the ifland to kill an Indian, whofe name was John Gibbs. He landed at the weft end, intending to travel along the fhore, under the bank, undifcovered, to the eaft part of the ifland, where John lived. But an Indian, happening to difcover his plan, ran and gave John word; in confequence of which John made his efcape to town and got Thomas Macy to conceal him. John's crime was fpeaking the name of the dead, who was fuppofed to be one of King Philip's near connexions. For the Indians had a cuftom or law, that no one fhould fpeak or name the name of the dead. The Englifh held a parley with Philip, and all the money which they were able to collect at that time, was barely fufficient to fatisfy him for John's life. This ftory has been handed down to us by our fathers, and we do not doubt the truth of it.

The Indians had a fingular way of punifhing their children and fervants, which was as follows. They took fome bayberry root, and fcraping off the bark, put it into a bottle; they let it ftand awhile fteeping it in water. They would then take the boys, and lay them on their backs, putting a knee on each of the boy's arms; and turning back their heads, by laying hold of the hair, they took fome of the water into their mouths, and fquirted it into the nofes of the boys. This was repeated twice or thrice, till the boys were nearly ftrangled. After a while, however, they would recover. This mode of punifhment, called by the Indians *medomhumar,* or great punifhment, has prevailed among them fince my time.

### *Of Peter Folger.*

When the Englifh firft came to Nantucket, they appointed five men to divide and lay out twenty acres of houfe lot land, to every fhare; and Peter Folger was one of the five. But I have remarked, that it is faid in the records, that any three out of the five might do the bufinefs, provided the faid Peter Folger was one of them. From which

it is plain, that the people faw fomething in him fuperiour to others. I have obferved alfo, that fome of our old deeds from the Indian fachems were examined by Peter Folger, and he would write fomething at the bottom of the deed and fign it, in addition to the fignature of the juftice; for he underftood and could fpeak the Indian tongue. So that it is clear to me, that both the Englifh and Indians had a great efteem for Peter Folger; who was grandfather to the famous Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia, lately deceafed. His mother was the daughter of Peter Folger, who lived within forty rods of the fpot where I was born. And from what I have heard, the whole of North America prided itfelf as much in Benjamin Franklin, as the people of Nantucket did, in his grandfather. I conclude therefore, that he inherited a part of his noble publick fpirit from his grandfather, Peter Folger.

I hope the errours of the above will be excufed, as I am now in my feventy-ninth year, and according to the courfe of nature, am not fo capable of fetting matters in a clear light as in my younger days.

ZACCHEUS MACY.

*Nantucket, 15th of 5th month, 1792.*

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, *and* DEATHS, *in the ifland of* NANTUCKET, *communicated by the Rev. Mr.* SHAW.

ANNO, 1789.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Births, viz. | Males | 75 | Marriages | 65 |
| | Females | 82 | Deaths | 57 |
| | Total, | 157 | | |

N. B. Of the deaths, 11 were caufed by pulmonary confumption, and 10 by hectical decay. 10 were males, and 11 females.

ANNO, 1790.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Births, viz. | Males | 91 | Marriages | 68 |
| | Females | 83 | Deaths | 66 |
| | Total, | 174 | | |

N. B. Of the deaths, 13 were caufed by pulmonary confumption. 8 by hectical decay.

### ANNO, 1791.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Births, viz. | Males | 89 | Marriages | 48 |
| | Females | 113 | Deaths | 83 |
| | Total, | 262 | | |

N. B. Of the deaths, 12 were by pulmonary conſumption. 11 by hectical decay. 9 by convulſions.

### ANNO, 1792.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Births, viz. | Males | 80 | Marriages | 28 |
| | Females | 93 | Deaths | 58 |
| | Total, | 173 | | |

N. B. Of the deaths, 6 were by pulmonary conſumption. 14 by hectical decay. 12 by convulſions.

### *Progreſs of the* WHALE FISHERY *at* NANTUCKET.

Whale fishery originated at Nantucket in the year 1690, in boats from the ſhore.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1715. | 6 ſloops, 38 tons burden, obtained about 600 barrels of oil, and 11,000 bone. | £ 1,100 |
| 1730. | 25 ſail, from 38 to 50 tons, obtained annually about 3,700 barrels, at £7 per ton | 3,200 |
| 1748. | 60 sail, from 50 to 75 tons, obtained 11,250 barrels at £14 | 19,684 |
| 1756. | 80 ſail, 75 tons, obtained 12,000 barrels at £18. | 27,600 |
| 1768. | 70 ſail, 75 tons, obtained 10,500 barrels at £18. | 23,600 |
| | N. B. Loſt ten ſail, taken by the French, and foundered. | |
| 1770. | 120 ſail, from 75 to 110 tons, obtained 18,000 barrels, at £40 | 100,000 |
| *From* 1772 *to* 1775. | 150 ſail, from 90 to 180 tons, upon the coaſt of Guinea, Brazil, and the Weſt Indies, obtained annually 30,000 barrels, which ſold in the London market at £44 to £45 ſterling. | *L. M.*<br>167,000 |
| | N. B. 2,200 ſeamen employed in the fiſhery, and 220 in the London trade. | *Sterling.* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Peace of* | 7 fail to Brazil from 100 to 150 tons obtained | 2,100 | |
| 1783. | 5 to the coaft of Guinea | 600 | |
| | 7 to the Weft-Indies | 560 | |
| | At £40 per ton, | 3,260 | £16,280 |
| | N. B. No duty exacted in London. | | |
| 1784. | 12 fail to Brazil, obtained | 4,000 | |
| | 5 to the coaft of Guinea | 400 | |
| | 11 to the Weft-Indies | 1,000 | |
| | At £23 to £24, | 5,400 | 14,500 |
| | N. B. The price fell by the exaction of a duty in London of £18 3s fterling, per ton. | | |
| 1785. | Now at fea. | | |
| | 8 fail to Brazil. | | |
| | 2 to the coaft of Guinea. | | |
| | 5 to the Weft-Indies. | | |

Before the war there were annually manufactured in Nantucket 380 tons of fpermaceti candles.*

**This ſtate of the whale fiſhery in Nantucket, was written in the year 1785.*

# INDIAN NAMES BY ZACCHEUS MACY

*A Report by him to Massachusetts Historical Society, 1792.*

Account of the names of the old Sachems and some of the most respectable Indians, and their habitations, taken from the best authors that could be had ye 15 ye 3mo 1763. At that time there were living near about 370 of the natives on the island of Nantucket — pr me the subscriber.

Wannochmamock was the first sachem at the southeast part of the island, when the English first came to Nantucket. Next to him was his son, called Sousoauco, and next to him were his two sons called Cain and Abel. These two agreed to divide the sachem-right, two third parts to Cain and one third part to Abel. The said Cain had one daughter, whose name was Jemima, married to James Shaa. From Abel sprang Eben Abel, and from him sprang Benjamin Abel, the last sachem, from whom I bought all his right, title and property that he had on said island, for and in behalf of the whole English proprietors. All the said Jemima's right was bought by our old proprietors many years before, as may fully appear on our records. Their lands or bounds began at a place on the south side of the island, called Touphchue Pond, and ran across to the northward of our washing pond, called Gibbs Pond, on the west side of Saul's Hills and so over towards Podpis swamp, and then to the eastward to a place, Sesacacha Pond by the east sea. At the south-east part of said tract is a high bluff head of land, called Tom Never's Head; and about two miles to the northward stands our famous fishing stage houses, where our sick people go for their health, called Siasconset; and about a mile still to the northward is a very high cliff of land called Sancota Head, then about a mile still to the northward stands another fishing stage called Sesacacha.

Next begins the old sachem called Wauwinet; his bounds begin adjoining to the northward of the said Wannochmamock's land and run still along to the northward and take in all Squam, and run on to our long sandy point, called Coetue or Nauma, which in the English is Long Point, where our Massachusetts light house now stands, and then to the westward to New Town, then to the southward to a place called Weweder Ponds, which in English signifies a pair of horns, by reason there are two ponds that run to a point next to the sea, and

spread apart so as to leave a neck of land, called Long Joseph's Point; which two ponds spread apart so as to resemble a pair of horns. And the said Wauwinet had two sons the oldest son was named Isaac, but was mostly called Nicornoose, which signifies, in English, to suck the fore teat; and his second son was named Wawpordonggo, which in English is white face, for his face was one side white, and the other side brown or Indian color. And the said Nicornoose married, and had one son named Isaac, and one daughter; and then he turned away his proper wife, and took another woman, and had two sons, named Wat and Paul Noose; and when his true son Isaac grew up to be a man, he resented his father's behavior so much, that he went off and left them for the space of near fifty years, it was not known where. And in that time his true sister married to one Daniel Spotsor, and he reigned sachem, by his wife, near about forty years: and we made large purchases of the said Spotsors. And then about sixty years past or more, there came an Indian man from Nauset, called Great Jethro, and he brought Judah Paddack and one Hause with him, and he challenged the sachem-right by being son to the said true son of Nicornoose; and when they first opened the matter to our old proprietors, they contrived to keep the said Jethro close, until they could send some good committee to find out by our old Indians, whether they ever knew or heard of the said Nicornoose having such a son gone, and they soon found out by the old Indians, that he had, but they had not heard what was become of him. So they soon found, they should lose all they had bought of the said Spotsors, then they held a parley with him said Jethro, and agreed to buy all his right, title and property that he owned on said island, as appears on our records. And the said Nicornoose gave deeds to his two bastard sons, Paul and Wat Noose, forty acres each, a little to the eastward of Podpis village.

The first sachem was at the south-west part of said island. His bounds were at the said Weweder Ponds, and from thence to the northward to a place called Gunsue meadow at Monemoy, where we now call New Town, and from thence westward along to the southward of the hills called Popsquatchet Hills, where our three mills now stand, and so to the west sea, called Tawtemeo, which we call the Hummock pond. And his name was Autapeeot. Next to him was his son called Harry Poritain. Next to him was Peter Mausauquit. Next to him was Isaac Peter. Next to him was lame Isaac, of whom we bought the last and all that sachem-right: and their habitation was Moyaucomet, which signifies a meeting-place, and their meeting-house they call Moyau-

comor. And the said Autapeeot was called a great warrior, and got his land by his bow.

The fourth sachem was at the north-west part, called Potconet, and owned all the little island called Tuckernuck, which signifies, in English, a loaf of bread, and his bounds extended from Madaket down eastward to Wesko, which in English is the white stone, and so on the northside of Autapscot land, all bought of him at the coming of the English, saving some particular tracts that belonged to the Jafets and the Hoights and some others.

Now I shall give some of the most respectable Indians in Wannochmamock's bounds. There was James Mamack, a minister of the gospel, and justice of the peace, and behaved well in his station. Old Aesop, the weaver, was a schoolmaster; old Saul, a very stern looking old man. Joshua Mamack succeeded in his father James Mamack's place. Richard Nominash and his brother Sampson and little Jethro were all very substantial, and a number more very trusty men.

The most noted Indians in Autapscot's bounds were Benjamin Tashama, a minister of the gospel, and a schoolmaster to teach the children to read and write. He was grandson to the old sachem. But there was an old Indian, named Zacchary Hoite, a minister before the said Tashama, but he did not behave so well. He told his hearers they must do as he said, but not as he did.

And there was one Indian man, his name was James Skouel, but was mostly called Corduda. He was justice of the peace, and very sharp with them if they did not behave well. He would fetch them up, when they did not tend their corn well, and order them to have ten stripes on their backs, and for any rogue tricks and getting drunk. And if his own children played any rogue tricks, he would serve them the same sauce. There happened some Englishmen at his court, when a man was brought up for some rogue tricks, and one of these men was named Nathan Coleman, a pretty crank sort of a man, and the Indian man pleaded for an appeal to Esquire Bunker, and the old judge turned round to said Nathan and spoke in the Indian language thus, "chaquor keador taddator witche conichau mussoy chaquor", then said Nathan answered thus, "martau couetchawidde neconne sassamyste nehotie moche Squire Bunker;" which in the English tongue is thus, "what do you think about this great business?" then Nathan answered "may be you had better whip him first, then let him go to Squire Bunker;" and the old judge took Nathan's advice. And so Nathan answered two purposes, the one was to see the Indian whipped, the other was, he

was sure the Indian would not want to go to Esquire Bunker for fear of another whipping.

I will say something more in recommendation of some of our old Indian natives. They were very solid and sober at their meetings of worship, and carried on in the form of Presbyterians, but in one thing imitated the Friends or Quakers, so called: which was to hold meetings on the first day of the week and on the fifth day of the week, and attended their meetings very precisely. I have been at their meetings many times and seen their devotion; and it was remarkably solid; and I could understand the most of what was said; and they always placed us in a suitable seat to sit; and they were not put by, by our coming in, but rather appeared glad to see us come in. And a minister is called cooutaumuchary. And when the meeting was done, they would take their tinder-box and strike fire and light their pipes, and, maybe, would draw three or four whifs and swallow the smoke, and then blow it out of their noses, and so hand their pipes to their next neighbor. And one pipe of tobacco would serve ten or a dozen of them. And they would say "tawpoot", which is, "I thank ye." It seemed to be done in a way of kindness to each other.

And as I said before, they had justices, constables, grand-jurymen, and carried on for a great many years, many of them very well and precisely, and lived in very good fashion. Some of them were weavers, some good carpenters.

* * * * * *

Now I will begin at the west end of the island, which we call Smith's Point, but the Indians call Nopque, which was called a landing place, when they came from the Vineyard, but they call it Noapx, then eastward about three miles comes the Hummock Pond, where we once had a great number of whale houses with a mast raised for a look-out, with holes bored through and sticks put in like a ladder, to go up; then about three miles eastward to the said Weweder ponds, stood another parcel of whale houses; then about three miles eastward to Nobedeer Pond was where Benjamin Gardner lived formerly; then about three and one half miles eastward is the aforesaid Tom Never's Head; then two miles to the northward is the famous town or fishing stage called Siasconset; then about one mile northward is the high head of land called Sancoty Head, and the Indians called Naphchecoy, which signifies round the head; then about one mile northward is the aforesaid Sesacacha pond, where our other fishing stage stands. Then

begins the said Squam, and runs northward two miles to the beginning of our said long sandy point called Naauma; and the first is one mile to a place called Causkata pond, where are some woods and meadow; and four miles northward is where the said Massachusetts lighthouse is, on the north end of said point. Then about one mile to the northward of the entering on of the above said long point, begins another neck or beach, called little Coetue and runs about five miles on about a west by south course till it comes within about one mile of our town called Wesko, which makes the east side of the entering-in of our harbor. Then next to the said Squam, westward, is the village called Podpis Neck, where our fulling-mill stands; then next westward is the famous neck of land called Quaise or Maisquatuck Neck, which in the English signifies the reed land, which was a tract of land given to Thomas Mayhew from one of the old sachems, and was reserved by the said Mayhew to himself when he sold his patent-right to the proprietors; which neck makes the west side of the said Podpis Harbor, now owned by Josiah Barker, Esquire, and Captain Shubael Coffin and Captain Thomas Delano. Then next westward is the Josiah Barker's lot or field, called Show Aucamor, which in English signifies the middle field of land. Then about four miles westward is the town called Wesco; then next westward is a place called Watercomet, which signifies a pond field, which formerly was owned by the old natives called the Hoites. Then next westward is the great pond called Cuppame, where old Tristram Coffin lived, the old grandfather to almost all of us, which was owned by the old families of the natives called the Jafets; then next westward about four miles is called Eel Point and Madaket Harbor, which is the north-west part of the said island; and then about two miles westward is the said little island, called Tuckernuck, which signifies, in English, a loaf of bread, for it appears round, and in the middle pretty high: which was bought by the said old Tristram Coffin from the old sachem Potconet, in the year 1659, by virtue of a patent he had from New York.

Excuse me for errors and poor writing and spelling, and consider me in station of life worn out.

NANTUCKET, YE 2D 10TH MONTH, 1792.

By Zaccheus Macy.

To Peleg Coffin, Esquire, now resident in Boston. For the perusal of our Historical Society for the Massachusetts, in Boston.

## ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY OF JOSIAH QUINCY—1801

*in Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., 2nd. Series, Vol. IV*

*June 9.* The regular packets to Nantucket being all absent, we took passage for this place on board a wood sloop belonging to a Capt. Lawrence. The wife of our Captain and Doc. Tupper of Martha's vineyard were fellow passengers. In descending the river, the different villages of New Bedford, planted on each side, have a pleasing effect. Palmer's, a small and rocky island, in the middle river, about a mile from the town, makes the navigation somewhat critical for large ships. The river empties itself into Buzzard's Bay, between Sconticut point on the East, and Clark's neck on the West. The latter of these has a small light-house erected on it. After passing Sconticut point, West's Island succeeds, on North East side of the Bay, and the Elizabeth Islands form its southern boundary. The names of these are Nonimasit, Nashant [Naushon], Pesk, Nashiwinna, Penniquees, and Cuddihunk. We landed at the first, which is separated from the second by a narrow creek navigable for boats only. These two islands are the property of James Bowdoin, Esq., and the most valuable of the whole. The former, as his tenant assured me, netts $350 annually, and the latter at least $3,000. Nonimasit is fifteen miles from New Bedford. We dined at the house of Paul Robinson, Mr. Bowdoin's principal tenant. Its appearance was antique, but neat and comfortable. Every thing about it indicated good living and thrift. The soil of this Island is weak and sandy. All the cluster appeared destitute of wood, although I was assured there was enough in the interior. On Nashant deer run wild, and are protected to the proprietor by an act of the legislature.

Through these Islands there are three passages into the vineyard sound, of which vessells take advantage as wind and tide serve. The most frequented though rocky and narrow navigation lies between the North East point of Nonimasit and the South Westerly parts of Falmouth, and is called Wood's hole. A second between Nashant and Pesk is called Robinson's hole. A third, between Pesk and Nashawinna, Quick's hole. In the afternoon, the wind failing, we could only

by aid of the tide, which sets at the rate of nine knots an hour through Wood's hole, get through this passage, and anchored in a small bason called Wood's hole great harbour, lying on the Westerly side of the extreme South Westerly point of Cape Cod. Wood's hole little harbour is on the Easterly side of the same point. We passed the night on shore, at a Widow Parker's. Our accommodations were good, the landlady and her family very respectable, and the situation, commanding a prospect of Buzzard's Bay on one side, and the Vineyard sound on the other, and of the Islands interjacent, very delightful and romantic.

*June* 10. From Wood's, the course is South East to Holmes' Hole, on Martha's vineyard. The Sound is in this part about Six miles wide. Opposite to Holmes' Hole, and in sight of it, is the village of Falmouth. It has at a distance the appearance of a compact settlement, containing two churches and perhaps Forty houses. The harbour at Holmes' Hole is very commodious for ships of any burden, as it is deep, bold, and capacious. It has, however, no protection against North East Winds. This place is a famous refuge from storms in the winter, and its inhabitants are celebrated pilots, who get their living by conducting vessels through the difficult passes of the islands. Martha's vineyard is twenty-one miles long and Six wide. It is well supplied with wood. The aspect of it from the Sound is naked and arid. It is divided into three Towns: Edgartown on the East, Tisbury in the Centre, and Chilmark at the West. The first includes Old Town, the second Holmes' Hole; the last the Elizabeth Islands. Chappoquiddock is a small Island at the North East point of Martha's Vineyard, and separated from it only by a narrow Channel. Cape Poge, its Northerly point, is a noted landmark. Government, it is said, contemplates the erection of a light-house upon it,—a work, from its situation, obviously necessary. Old Town harbour is situated upon the East side of the Vineyard, on a small channel, which separates it from Chappoquiddock. The harbour is commodious, and the place carries on some, though no considerable, trade. From Cape Poge the general course to Nantucket is N E and East. We passed in sight of Tuckanuck and Muskeket, two small islands which lie at the North West end of Nantucket.

This Island lies in the shape of a crescent, the hollow of which faces the North West. Sandy point is at the North, Elle point at the West. It is about fifteen miles long and three wide. The town of Nantucket lies near the centre of the Island. It appears from the harbour as large as Salem, but exhibits no marks of elegance or splendor. Peleg Coffin, Esq., treasurer of the Commonwealth, had given us letters to a Capt. Obed Hussey, who received us as boarders. Our landlord, a jolly, sensible, Epicurean seaman, having beat about the ocean as a whale-fisher the best part of sixty years, had at length retired into harbour. He possessed a handsome competence, and took boarders for the sake of society, in so retired a spot as Nantucket, rather than for profit. His wife, a neat, motherly, precise quaker, was the perfect contrast of her husband. This, however, broke no squares in the family. The captain shook his fat sides in laughter at least every quarter of an hour, to which she moved in a sort of concert, rather from habit than constitution. His is the best boarding-house on the island. It is on a wharf, the most busy in the Town, having, as the Capt. assured me with great satisfaction, the sea flowing under the whole of it every tide, — a circumstance I did not relish so highly as my landlord, as it was accompanied by a considerable dock effluvia.

Hussey's good-humour and his wife's kindness balanced all inconveniences. My landlord took charge of the letters of introduction with which Mr. Coffin had furnished us, and I took a walk round the town. The houses, with but one or two exceptions, are built wholly of wood, and have but two stories. By far the greater number are without paint, and with those which have it, red is the predominant colour. They are built generally upon the street, and a few are ornamented with poplar-trees of a small growth. The streets are without pavement, and of a light sand. This in the centre of the street is at least half-shoe deep, but at the sides there is more hardness. There are four wharves in the town, on which business appeared lively, notwithstanding that, as the fishermen were chiefly at sea, it was less brisk than usual. Its harbour is difficult of access, as it abounds in shoals. Nothing is omitted, however, for the security of mariners. Five or six buoys, a light-house at sandy point, another on Brant point, and a Beacon on the Island, warn them of dangers, and form objects by which they regulate their courses. The town stands on the west side of a small Bay, on the North side of the Island. Brant Point, projecting from the extreme North West side of the harbour to the South East, and point Courtou, opposite to Brant point, projecting to the

South West from the North East side, form and protect it. Here is anchorage for vessels of any burthen. There are in the Town five or Six rope walks, and a twine manufactory. The custom of riding in horse-carts, here called Calashes, has a very odd appearance to a stranger; it is, however, common even with the most respectable and wealthy inhabitants. The sandiness of their roads renders springs unnecessary; and as all the inhabitants have something to do with navigation, machines which can convey themselves and their goods with equal ease are very convenient. Chaises are owned in the island, but are esteemed articles of splendor. At dusk we went to the Town Gate and saw a herd of Three hundred and Fifty cows returning from pasture under the care of two herdsmen.

In the evening Mr. William Hammatt and Mr. Josiah Barker, to whom we had letters from Mr. Coffin, called and invited us to a party they had made for us to the East end of the Island. Hammatt is a widower. Barker apoligized for his wife, who is a strict quaker, and a delegate to the general meeting of friends at Newport, for which place she had just taken passage. Our landlord and wife, who were, I found, companions for the best on the Island were invited. Very early in conversation with these gentlemen I discovered the passions which the famous Nantucket Bank prosecution, for its robbery, had planted in the island, and which will never cease to rankle under the bosoms of the present generation of inhabitants. They were both, as also Capt. Hussey, friends of the accused, and spoke with an honest and becoming indignation of the injurious charges made against the most worthy men on the Island, and which, by the villainy of some and the weakness of others, through perjury and artifice, had nearly effected their conviction and ruin.

*June* 11. According to appointment, we rode to the East side of the Island, taking a circular route to the South East part of it. Our host and wife, Messrs. Hammatt and Barker, a Capt. Gardner, and Mr. Folger were of the party. We passed through places called, by their Indian names, Polpis, Squam, Sessakisha, and Siasconsit, dined at Tom Never's head, and returned at dusk to Nantucket. The almost total want of trees, houses, and fences, in the interior part of the Island, makes the road very uninteresting to the traveller. Once in every two or three miles a single farm-house appeared, surrounded by a half dozen dwarf cherry-trees. Such an assemblage is a wood on Nantucket, where there is not a tree of native growth. Except in the neighbourhood of

the town, there is no division of lands, but the whole Island is separated into three great lots, called the upper, the lower, and the middle pastures. These are marked out by three fences running the whole width of it. This arrangement results from the nature of the property of the inhabitants, which is, as far as it respects the far greater part of the Island, a common proprietary. The account given me of this singular institution was that at its first settlement the whole Island was divided into Twenty-seven shares, to each of which was allotted forty acres of "house lot" land. These forty acres constitute the chief of what is called "inheritance" land, because they are held in severalty, and are regulated by the same rules as other real property in the Commonwealth. The residue of the proprietors' property consists in the right of a common tillage and pasturage, regulated by the principles established by the proprietary. By these every share entitles the proprietor to the pasturage of forty-five horses, or ninety cows, or Seven hundred and Twenty sheep, besides his annual privilege of a division in the tillage land. As the number of inhabitants have increased, it has been found convenient to regulate all transactions by the smallest divisions of the right, and the divisions of the original twenty-seven shares are now sold by the name of Sheep's commons, one being equal to the pasturage of a sheep, Eight of a cow, and Sixteen of a horse. Regular records of all their proceedings are kept by the proprietary. In the spring of every year they meet and determine, voting according to the Sheep's commons they possess, which pasture shall be tilled, which appropriated for cows and horses, and which for sheep. A committee is then appointed to allot the tillage land into as many divisions as there are rights, and to mark and number each. The proprietors then draw lots for the division every individual is to enjoy in severalty the ensuing year. He then takes possession of it, and tills and plants it as he pleases; the only boundary between him and his neighbour being a narrow furrow which by any other than a native's eye cannot be distinguished from other furrows in the field. The tendency of this scheme to exhaust the land, is easily seen, as no possessor has an interest to give it any permanent improvements, but, on the contrary, to impoverish it as much as possible. This conspiracy against land naturally poor has been eminently successful in reducing it to the most miserable and hungry state possible; for which reason the most sensible proprietors have been and are still anxious to break up the original constitution of property; but the small proprietors, who are the majority, find an interest in the present system, and the prejudices of

the inhabitants favor it. The cows feed under the charge of two herdsmen, and are driven home every night; but the sheep run at large during the whole year, each owner of which has a particular mark, registered in the records of the proprietary, and persons are appointed to put upon the lambs the earmark of their parents. Annually, in June, all the sheep on the Island are brought into two droves, the one for the East, the other for the West end of it, and are all sheared together by shearers procured by the proprietor. Sixteen thousand sheep will be sheared this year in two days. This period is therefore a great festival. Not only great numbers come from the continent as shearers, but multitudes of hucksters and traders flock to the island at this time to buy wool and vend their wares; so that shearing-time, on Nantucket, is a sort of fair, resembling in everything but splendor and literature a Cambridge Commencement. The cultivated pasture had a most wretched aspect. The spires of grain looked weak, and the land turned up by the plough had the appearance of a sand-heap. Upon examination I found the soil superior to its promise. Below the white sand there is a fine black and a fine red sand. These, partaking of the nature of loam, are nutritive, and render land useful here, which from its appearance would not be thought, on the continent, worthy of cultivation.

The two principal villages are Sesàkicha and Siasconsit. Both lie on the South East bank of the Island, about two miles from each other, and have nothing between them and Europe but the Atlantic expanse. They are mere temporary residences for fishermen, who come up from the town and reside here during two months in the Spring and two months in the fall, — the fishing seasons. They were at present deserted by all except one family left in each for its protection. A singular neatness and comfortable arrangement prevailed in these fishermen's resorts. The houses are but of one story, having a high pitched roof, but possessed of every necessary accommodation. We tarried half an hour at Siasconsit. There are here about thirty houses, built in three rows, in the form of streets, commanding an extensive prospect of the ocean. At Tom Never's head, which is a remarkable headland, at the most Southern point of the Island, there is but one house, about a quarter of a mile from the shore. At this we dined. Here was plenty, with neatness and good-humour: a kind talkative landlady, attentive and hearty companions. In the Evening we drank tea at Mr. Hammatt's, where Dr. Peter Easton, son in Law of Mr. Coffin, with his wife, were introduced to us, and gave us an invitation

to dine with them on the next day at one o'Clock; twelve being the usual Nantucket hour of dinner, which was postponed out of complaisance to us.

*June* 12. We rode to Elle point, the North West extremity of the Island, a distance of about Eight miles. In these, want of cultivation and of inhabitants is greater than in the parts we visited yesterday. After having rode two or three miles from the town, there is nothing in prospect but land and sky, except, as you progress to the shore, views of the water. Neither house, tree, grain, nor fence is to be seen. Three or four horses and thirty or forty sheep, straying at will over the rough extent, were the only objects to fix the eye. The surface of the country is broken into small hills, and covered with a thin and weak grass, shooting seemingly from sand. We passed two or three small ponds of water, abounding, as we were told, with very fine fish, at which the chief pleasure parties of the inhabitants terminate. Nantucket whale-fishers pursuing perch in a pond half a mile in circumference are objects ludicrous enough. Our landlord, however, was of a different opinion. Like his neighbours, he had transferred his affections from the cable and Harpoon to the hair-line and hook, and vaunted no less of the activity of his old age than of his youth. The difference of the theatres did not seem to enter his thoughts.

During our ride we observed a man on horseback scampering over the country, and visiting every knot of horses within his sight. After occupying himself half an hour in this way, he came up to us, enquiring if we had noticed a horse with certain marks, which he enumerated. He had been riding, he told us, over a third of the Island to find him. This process, to which all they who "common" their horses must submit, sometimes requires half a day to execute, and if the horse be wild, the owner is lucky if it does not require another half to take him. I would not be unjust, however, to the steeds of Nantucket, whose blood flows in a current very orderly and corrected, and who do not in general put their masters to much expense of breath in running them down. They are generally twelve or fourteen hands high, very meagre and patient under the affliction of the whip. Indeed, the custom which their owners have of turning them loose and leaving them to shift for themselves during the winter months cannot contribute to benefit their spirits or constitution. This practice, which would be thought cruel with us, is less injurious than one would expect, as their winters on this Island are much more mild, as their summers are also more temperate, than upon the continent.

We dined at Dr. Easton's, a young practitioner of physick, a native of Newport, removed here for the sake of his profession. Mrs. Easton is a daughter of Mr. Coffin. They were very friendly and polite. Their house and establishment are in a style as elegant — by which name, however, it can scarcely be called — as any upon the Island. Easton appeared to possess a solid, well-informed mind; and his wife was kind and motherly. The shortness of our acquaintance gives us no authority to judge concerning occult qualities and general character. As this island is secluded from intercourse with idle travellers, what is called taste and fashion cannot be expected to predominate at their entertainments; but all the substantial and honest parts of hospitality they have in as great extent and as much reality as their neighbours. Messrs. Barker, Hammatt, Capt. Gardner, and his partner Albert Gardner were of Easton's party. The last was one of the victims of bank malignity in (name not given), and took his trial, with four others of the first character and rank on the island, on an indictment for robbing the bank. He appeared to be a man of feeling and spirit. His friends assured me that he had never recovered the shock of that prosecution; notwithstanding he had been acquitted, and public opinion had done him and the rest of the accused justice, that the wound then inflicted upon his peace of mind would never be closed.

After dinner we took a walk to the twine manufactory. About twenty young women are the only spinners, and earn fifty Cents daily in the works. We were next shown some of the best grass and clover fields on the island, and which, being of that description called "house lot" land, had been inclosed and manured. It was surprisingly fine, compared with any I had seen on Nantucket, but scarce above mediocrity compared with the like species on the Continent. After taking tea at Dr. Easton's and amusing ourselves with four fine children of his, we returned to our lodgings, and found that Capt. Lawrence, the honest old quaker seaman who had brought us to Nantucket, had called on us and left an invitation for us to take tea at his house the next day.

*June* 13. Having made our arrangements for leaving Nantucket, we did not neglect to return the civility of Capt. Lawrence and wife by a short visit. Lawrence had seen better days, and had been upon a level, in point of property, with the principal inhabitants of the island. But misfortunes had beset his old age, and he was just preparing to remove his family to Alexandria; preferring to descend into an humble sphere among strangers, rather than to remain in a place where every object

reminded him of his lost prosperity. Mrs. Lawrence, an old quaker, was very kind and affectionate; regretted that she could not see more of us, and would not suffer us to leave her house until she had put up a bottle of cordial for my wife's refreshment on her passage.

# NOTES ON NANTUCKET, BY THE REVEREND JAMES FREEMAN, AUGUST 1ST, 1807

FROM COLLECTIONS OF MASS. HIST. SOC., 2ND SERIES,
VOL. III, PG. 19

## *The County of Nantucket*

The County of Nantucket is composed of five islands. Beginning west, the first is Muskeget, which is about six miles east from Washqua Point in Chappaquiddick Island. It is a low, sandy island, and is not used for sheep or cattle. South-east of it is Tuckanuck, an island containing thirteen hundred acres of land, which afford pasture for eight hundred or a thousand sheep and forty head of horned cattle. Between Muskeget and Tuckanuck are two small islands, called Gravelly Islands, which are of no value. The only island of importance is the large island, Nantucket. According to the valuation of 1801, the county contains

| | |
|---|---|
| 652 | Acres of English upland mowing, |
| 138 | Salt marsh, |
| 14581 | Pasturage, |
| 40 | Fresh meadow, |
| 3360 | Unimproved land, |
| 5376 | Unimproveable land, |
| 300 | in Roads, |
| 1163 | covered with Water, |
| 1350 | of Tillage land. |
| 26960 | Total, which are equal to 42⅛ square |

miles. Not much credit is in general due to valuations. There are however a few honourable exceptions; and this of Nantucket in particular is very little short of the truth.

## ISLAND OF NANTUCKET. *Harbours. Coast.*

Two miles east from Tuckanuck is Eel Point, the north-west point of Nantucket. Smith's Point runs to the south of Tuckanuck. December 5th, 1786, the sea made a breach through the point; and the strait is now half a mile wide; but the breadth is continually varying. Twelve or fourteen years ago, the irruptions of the sea converted it into three islands. These two points and Tuckanuck Island form Matacut Harhour. The channel is crooked and narrow; and a vessel may carry into

## [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

it nine or ten, some say twelve, feet of water. Within the harbour the water is four or five fathoms deep. Fish abound in it, particularly the bass, shad, and alewife; and a fishery might be carried on here to great advantage: at present four or five hundred barrels are taken annually.

From Eel Point to Sandy Point, the shore curves, and forms an extensive bay, in which there are from five to eight fathoms of water. The principal harbour, on which the town is built, is at Wesko, within this bay. Its barrier against the sea is a long neck of sandy beach, which terminates in Coatue Point. Opposite to this point, at the distance of one third of a mile, is Brant Point, on the west side of the harbour. Brant Point, during the past thirty years, has gained ten or fifteen rods in length toward the south-east, by which the harbour is improved. Common tides rise about three feet. In entering this harbour from the sea, keep two miles from Sandy Point, on which stands Nantucket Light House, as a shoal runs E. by N. from the point. When the light bears N. N. E. run S. W. by S. until you bring the Harbour Light House on Brant Point to bear S. E. by S. Then run for it till the depth of water decreases; and follow the shore into the harbour, being careful to avoid a shoal, which runs from Coatue Point toward Brant Point. The head of the harbour is six or seven miles from the town. A branch of it, which runs half a mile from the east part of it, is called Podpis.*

There is no opening from the sea into the land either on the east or south sides of the island. The whole of the shore is a sandy beach, and resembles the beaches of Cape Cod, except at Siasconsit, where the sand appears to be composed of fragments of granite. The south side of the island is gaining slowly on the sea.

### *Ponds. Wells.*

There are seventeen ponds; several of which are large. Five or six of them are well filled with excellent perch. — The wells in the upper part of the town are about forty feet deep, which is the height of land above the level of the sea. The water in them is generally hard.

### *State of the Thermometer.*

The climate is like that of Martha's Vineyard. The following Table exhibits the state of Fahrenheit's thermometer, which is kept constantly in the shade, at the north side of the Marine Insurance Office, Nantucket, Lat. 41° 16′, as observed by Mr. Robert Barker, at 8 o'clock, A. M. for a year and seven months.

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*This word is sometimes written Palpus: but the L and R ought not to be introduced in spelling any word of the Indians of New England, as the natives could not pronounce either of those letters.

| | | | | Mean Heat. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1806. | January | 31° | 67 | Decimals. |
| | February | 33 | 68 | |
| | March | 32 | 64 | |
| | April | 39 | 60 | |
| | May | 51 | 19 | |
| | June | 66 | 66 | |
| | July | 68 | 26 | |
| | August | 68 | 06 | |
| | September | 61 | 23 | |
| | October | 53 | 26 | |
| | November | 41 | 33 | |
| | December | 30 | 71 | |
| | | 48 | 19 | Mean of one year. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1807. | January | 26 | 06 | |
| | February | 27 | 07 | |
| | March | 34 | | |
| | April | 42 | 13 | |
| | May | 53 | 32 | |
| | June | 61 | 10 | |
| | July | 69 | 73 | |
| | | 44 | 77 | Mean of 7 months. |

For the sake of instituting a comparison between the climate of Nantucket and that of Salem, the author of these Notes has procured from Dr. Holyoke the state of the thermometer at the latter of these places, during the same period of a year and seven months.

*Observations of Fahrenheit's Thermometer suspended in the shade, at the door of Dr. Holyoke's house in Salem, Lat.* 42° 34′ *at* 8 *o'clock, A. M.*

| | | | | *Mean Heat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1806. | January | 22° | 77 | Decimals. |
| | February | 28 | 08 | |
| 1806. | March | 28° | 58 | Decimals. |
| | April | 36 | 60 | |
| | May | 58 | 35 | |
| | June | 65 | 63 | |
| | July | 69 | 74 | |
| | August | 69 | 03 | |
| | September | 59 | 16 | |
| | October | 46 | 22 | |
| | November | 36 | 46 | |
| | December | 26 | 41 | |
| | | 45 | 59 | Mean of one year. |
| 1807. | January | 18 | 61 | |
| | February | 20 | 82 | |
| | March | 29 | 45 | |
| | April | 44 | | |
| | May | 54 | 26 | |
| | June | 64 | 63 | |
| | July | 72 | 29 | |
| | | 43 | 44 | Mean of 7 months. |

### *Face of the Island. Soil.*

The south part of the island is a plain, which is not more than twenty-five feet above the level of the sea. On the north part the land rises into hills, which are forty feet in height. Sankoty Head, the most elevated spot, in Lat. 41° 16′, Long. 69° 58′, is eighty feet high. Coatue Point and Sandy Point are a few feet only above the sea. — The soil in general is sandy. The best land is round the harbour, particularly on the south-east quarter of it, where there is a large tract of a good quality. This part of the island is private property, and is worth

twenty-five dollars an acre. A tract of ground, four miles and a half from the town, S. S. E. stretching along the shore, and containing between a hundred and fifty and two hundred acres, is black, barren land, and resembles Hampstead Plain on Long Island. — Two kinds of clay, one of which is of a yellow, and the other of a blue colour, are found on the island. Both of them, particularly the former, are excellent for the making of cisterns to hold whale oil. A particular sort of yellow sand of the island is the best in the world for the coopering of oil casks. As these two substances are not to be obtained elsewhere in such perfection, the whaling business, say some of the patriotick inhabitants, cannot be carried on in any other place to so much advantage as in Nantucket. — The island contains iron ore; but in one instance only has it ever been worked into iron.

### *Vegetable Productions.*

The plants which grow on the beaches are beach grass, beach pea, beach ivy, rupture wort, and a fetid, poisonous plant, probably a species of orach. The common hardy prickly pear *(cactus opuntia)* grows on Coatue Beach and Sandy Point: it flowers in July. — Other plants produced on the island are southern wood, wormwood, common sorrel, maiden hair, agremony, evergreen, vervain, ladies mantle, garlick, alder tree, chickweed, marsh mallows, smallage, tansy, birthwort, mugwort, orach — several kinds, burdock, night shade, betony, borage, butcher's broom, calamint, motherwort, thistle — many kinds, centaury, ground pine, celandine, endive, hemlock, crane's bill, henbane, saint john's wort, flower de luce, juniper bush, and many others, the names of which are unknown. — The wild fruits are, whortleberries — three species, craneberries, beach plums — very good, gooseberries, strawberries — scarce, meal plums, grapes, box berries or ivy plums, choak berries, wild cherries — scarce, and hazel nuts. Other bushes are the bay berry, the hog craneberry, and the shrub oak, growing only a few inches in height. — The forest trees have been cut down (except at Cosskaty, where there were three hundred cords in 1780) for a hundred years or more. The natural growth was oak, beech, maple, white pine, and small red cedar. A few red cedars still remain at Cosskaty, which is at the head of the harbour: their branches, which straggle on the ground, do not rise more than three feet in height. Rabbits have heretofore burrowed in these cedars. Though the island is destitute of forest trees, yet there are many swamps, from which peat

can be dug; but very little of it is used by the inhabitants. Fire wood is brought chiefly from the south shore of Massachusetts, and sells for five or six dollars a cord. — There are a few fruit trees, such as apples, cherries, quinces, pears, and peaches. One apple tree, a greening, is remarkable for the size of its fruit, which frequently weighs above twenty ounces.

### *Cattle and Sheep.*

Above four hundred cows are kept on the island in two herds. At sunset they are brought to the town by the herdsmen, and remain in it during the night. In the morning they are turned out; and the herdsmen take them to the pastures, which extend from one to four miles from the town. The pasture of a cow, during the summer, is worth about two dollars. — There are thirty or forty oxen, and three hundred and fifty horses. — Seven thousand sheep are fed on the common lands, and near five hundred at Quayz. One sixth of the lambs are killed every year. The sheep produce each about two pounds of wool annually. The greatest part of the wool is exported from the island.

### *Divisions of the Island.*

Several parts of the island are distinguished by Indian names, which are in familiar use among the inhabitants. The first territory east of the town, where was formerly an Indian village, is Shimmoah. Adjoining it is Tetaukimmo; and then Shaukimmo; each of which is Quayz; and east of Quayz, Podpis, on the branch of the harbour mentioned above. At Podpis there are several dwelling houses, which are considered as belonging to the town, and are accordingly included in the enumeration given below. East of Podpis is Squam; adjoining which is Sasacacheh, on the ocean. At Sasacacheh is a village consisting of fifteen fishing houses; next to which is Siasconsit, where there is a village containing forty-two small houses, which with those of Sasacacheh are not included in the town. To these two villages, which are pleasantly situated at the east end of the island, many of the gentlemen of the town retire with their families during the heat of summer. Five hundred barrels of cod-fish are taken at them every autumn; and in the spring, three hundred quintals of table fish, which are esteemed superiour to Isle of Shoal fish. South of the town is Miacomit, where another Indian village formerly stood. Other quarters of the island receive their denominations from the ponds and points of land, which are near them.

### *Huts of the Humane Society.*

On two parts of the coast, which are remote from dwelling houses, the Humane Society have erected huts for the relief of shipwrecked seamen. One of them stands two miles and a half south of the light house on Sandy Point, six miles N. E. by E. from the tower of the Congregational meeting house, forty rods N. N. E. from Cosskaty Pond, and a mile and a half north of the head of the harbour, where there are three fishing houses. It is on a well chosen spot of the beach, being fifteen feet above the level of the sea. The other hut stands on the south shore, near the head of Hummock Pond, three miles S. E. from Smith's Point, and four miles and a half W. S. W. from the tower of the Congregational meeting house.

### *The Town.*

The town stands on the west side of the harbour, and is a mile and a half in length, and a third of a mile in breadth. It contains eight hundred and fifty dwelling houses (including fifteen at Podpis, Quayz, Squam, &c.) sixty three stores, a great number of shops, beside candle works, rope walks, &c, which will be more particularly mentioned under the head of Manufactures, five wharves, and five windmills. The town, with the exception of one or two houses, is built of wood. The houses are generally two stories in height; some of them have clapboards in front; but the greatest part of them are covered with shingles. Several of them are painted green. They are convenient buildings, but there is not much elegance in their appearance. — The publick edifices are two meeting houses for the Friends, a Congregational meeting house,* a Methodist meeting house, a court house, a jail, Free Masons hall — an elegant building with Ionick pilasters in front, an academy — not at present in use, but employed as a private school. Each of the societies of the Friends has a school; beside which there are seven other schools in the town, and a number kept by women. The Congregational meeting house has a tower, eighty feet in height, which commands a fine prospect of the town, the island, and the surrounding sea. Strangers fail not to visit this tower.

Another object to interest their curiosity is a museum, which has been begun by Mr. Matthews, an Englishman, and which promises soon to become respectable. It already contains many valuable articles; among which are several pieces of amber, that have been picked up on

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*Since the above was written, a second Congregational meeting house has been erected at Nantucket.

the shore of the island; and specimens of fishes, and parts of fishes, particularly those of the whale kind.

Another object, which deserves attention, is a clock constructed by Mr. Walter Folger, and of which the following is a description in his own words: "The clock, beside what is usual in clocks, exhibits the rising and setting of the sun, which is represented by a flat plate moving behind the dial plate: the dial is open so far as to admit the sun's being seen as long as it is above the horizon in Lat. 41° 16′. There are sliding plates, that close the opening on each side, and serve as an horizon: their motions are so regulated, as to cause the sun to make his appearance at the time he does in the heavens every day in the year, and set at the time the sun should set. The moon is represented by a silver ball, one half of which is made black: it appears, is seen, and disappears behind the dial in the same manner the sun does, rising at the time the moon does in the heavens, and setting at the time the moon sets. The moon turns on its axis once in a lunation, and by that means appears with all the different phases the moon appears with. The motion given to the horizons, that regulate the rising and setting of the moon, is more complicated than that of the sun. It takes the time of eighteen years and two hundred and twenty five days to perform a revolution of one of the wheels, which is continually in motion. The date of the year is shown by the clock: the date changes on the first day of the year: one wheel for the purpose of showing it will take a hundred years to turn once round. The motion of that wheel is not a continued motion, but rests for the space of ten years. The time the sun rose and set may be seen by the clock at any time of the day; also the sun's declination and place in the ecliptick; and the moon's declination."

The streets and lanes of the town are irregular, but of convenient breadths: they are not paved: and the soil being sandy, they are very heavy in dry weather. House lots in the town sell from a hundred to two hundred dollars a square rod. Rents are low: few exceed a hundred dollars a year. The greatest part of the houses are owned by those who live in them. There are three fire clubs and five engines. The number of inhabitants, which is fast increasing, may in the present month of August be estimated at six thousand seven hundred and thirty. In the month of March the qualified voters were twelve hundred and forty-six whites, and twenty-nine blacks. In number of houses, of inhabitants, and wealth, Nantucket may be classed as the fourth town in Massachusetts; it falls very little short of Newburyport.

### *Commerce and Shipping.*

There are no importers in Nantucket; but the shopkeepers procure their goods from Boston and New York, chiefly from the former. Provisions for the vessels are obtained in Boston and Connecticut. Flour and Indian corn are brought in coasters from New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

The following is a list of the number of vessels belonging to Nantucket July 27th. 1807.

| | *Tons.* | | *95ths.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 46 Ships containing | 10,525 | " | 34 |
| 8 Brigs | 1,036 | " | 68 |
| 24 Schooners | 1,858 | " | 60 |
| 42 Sloops | 2,387 | " | 63 |
| 120 Total | 15,808 | " | 25 |

Fourteen of the vessels are employed in the cod fishery, viz. one brig, seven schooners, and six sloops. Seventeen schooners and thirty-six sloops are coasters to different parts of the United States. Five of the brigs are merchant-men; and two of the ships, which are in the same service, sail to Canton.

### *Hunting of Seals. Whale fishery.*

Two of the brigs go to Patagonia after sea elephant oil; and three of the ships are engaged in killing seals at various islands of the Southern Ocean. The rest of the ships are employed in the whale fishery; viz. eleven on the Coast of Brazil; eleven at the Cape of Good Hope; one on the coast of New Holland; and eighteen in the Pacifick Ocean. The sealing voyages to Patagonia last about a year; and those to the Southern Ocean, three years. The whaling voyages to the coast of Brazil last about ten months; to the Cape of Good Hope, fifteen months; to the Pacifick Ocean, above two years; and to New Holland, two years and a half. Ships in this service, with proper repairs, may be preserved twenty years. Whale oil is worth at Nantucket a hundred dollars a ton; spermaceti oil, a hundred and fifty dollars; and head matter, two hundred and seventy-five dollars. The oil is chiefly sold in the United States, from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina. Whale bone in a right whale, in the proportion of ten pounds to a barrel, is worth six cents a pound. The larger whalemen have three boats and

twenty-one men, of whom nine are commonly blacks; and the smaller, two boats and sixteen men, of whom seven are blacks. The ship owners furnish the provisions of every sort, and every thing relating to the voyage, and draw three fifths of the returns. The men draw different proportions of the returns, according to their stations: the captain draws one sixteenth, where there are sixteen men; and one eighteenth where there are twenty-one men: the smallest boy, in the first instance, draws a hundredth; and in the second instance, a hundred and twentieth. The following paper will show what each person drew, where there were twenty-one men; and it will be easy to determine from it the shares, where there are sixteen men.

*Settlement of the Voyage of the Ship Lion: arrived in June,*
1807*: was absent two years.*

| | |
|---|---|
| To Amount of Charge - - - - - - | $ 362.75 |
| To sundry Accounts, clearing Ship, &c. (no charge against Captain, Mate, and Boy.) - - - | 43.38 |
| By 37,358 Gallons Body Oil - - - - - | 19766.14 |
| By 16,868 Gallons Head Matter - - - - - | 17849.73 |
| By 150½ Gallons Black Oil - - - - - | 45.15 |
| | 37661.02 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The share of the | | Captain - - | 1/18 - - - - - - | 2072.13 |
| | | Mate - - | 1/27 - - - - - - | 1381.41 |
| | | Second Mate | 1/37 - - - - - - | 1008.06 |
| | 2 | Ends Men - | 1/18 each - - - - - | 1554.10 |
| | 5 | Men - - | 1/75 each - - - - - | 2486.55 |
| | | Cooper - - | 1/60 - - - - - - | 621.64 |
| | | Boy - - | 1/120 - - - - - - | 310.82 |
| | 5 | Blacks - - | 1/80 each - - - - - | 2331.14 |
| | 1 | do. - - | 1/80 on 400 barrels - - | 108.36 |
| | 1 | do. - - | 1/90 - - - - - - | 414.42 |
| | 1 | do. - - | 1/85 - - - - - - | 438.80 |
| | 1 | do. - - | 1/90 on all but 400 Barrels | 318.10 |
| | | | Remainder. | 24252.74 |

### *Banks. Insurance Offices.*

There are at Nantucket two banks and two insurance offices, each of which has a capital of a hundred thousand dollars. The greatest part of the shares in the four are owned on the island. The banks divide five per cent. and the insurance offices, ten per cent. semiannually.

### *Manufactures.*

There are nineteen sets of works for the manufacture of spermaceti candles, which are in operation from the beginning of October to the beginning of June. On a medium, they manufacture each fifty tons of oil in a year; and turn out about ten thousand pounds of candles, which are worth forty-eight cents a pound. They are sent to the various parts of the United States.

There are ten rope walks, which manufacture each about twenty tons of cordage in a year. There is also a twine manufactory; but it is small.

The great number of casks, which are used by the whalemen and others, are all made in the town. The whale oil is generally put into hogsheads.

The whale boats also are all built at Nantucket. A whaleboat is twenty-seven feet long, is made of cedar boards half an inch thick, carries five men to row and one man to steer, is built by five or six workmen in three days, and costs fifty dollars: before the revolution the cost of it was thirty dollars.

The manufacture of marine salt was begun; but on account of fogs, which are so prevalent at Nantucket, it was found to be unprofitable, and was therefore discontinued.

The other manufactures are those which are common in Massachusetts, and are not of much importance.

### *Diseases. Longevity.*

The diseases of the island are not very different from those of the Main. The pulmonary consumption is said not to be as common. This may perhaps proceed in part from the difference in dress, especially among the females: the fact is, that the women, during the chilly months, are more warmly clad than in other parts of New England. — There are many persons on the island above seventy years of age. Two women, Elizabeth Allen and Lydia Pinkham, are in their ninetieth year. Jethro Starbuck died 1769, æt. 99. Lydia Swain died about eight

years ago, æt. 93. Mary Coff died about thirty years ago, æt. 97. Priscilla Colman died about forty years ago, æt. 95. Her husband, John Colman, died, æt. 97. There is no instance of any one on the island ever attaining the age of a hundred.

### *Religious Denominations.*

The Quakers, of whom there are about four hundred families, constitute the largest body of the inhabitants. It was through the testimony of John Richardson, an Englishman, who came to Nantucket in June, 1701,* that the first society of Friends was gathered. Friends' monthly meetings were established at Nantucket in 1708. The number of the Quakers is probably diminishing; for many are driven from their society by the strictness of their discipline. Not more that one half of the males and two thirds of the females, who attend the Friends' meetings, are members of the society. — The Congregationalists are more than two hundred families. — The Methodists are upwards of a hundred families: a hundred and twenty-four church members belong to their society. This denomination, which has lately been introduced, has been beneficial to the town, as many, who had formerly no religion, now attend the Methodist preachers.

### *Manners and Customs.*

The Quakers, being the largest and most respectable body, have happily given a tone to the manners and customs of the other denominations. The same neatness and simplicity in dress, the same frugality, industry, and hospitality, which distinguish that excellent society of christians, prevail in a good degree among the rest of the inhabitants. The people, who breakfast at seven, and dine at twelve, are busily engaged the whole day in some useful employment; and hence there are few persons among them, who do not obtain a comfortable subsistence, and who do not appear cheerful and contented. Strangers, who visit the island, generally leave it with a favourable impression on their minds of the character of the inhabitants. It seems however to be universally allowed, that they no longer retain their former purity of morals; but that during the last twelve years in particular, a spirit of bitterness has been introduced among them; that the people no longer live together like a family of brothers; but that they hate, and revile, and persecute each other. The causes of this melancholy change ought not to be mentioned. It is hoped, that when the present generation,

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*See Life of John Richardson. Philadelphia. 1783.

with their prejudices and rancour, shall have passed off the stage, the generation which succeeds will be restored to the sincerity, the good faith, the unsuspecting candour, and the brotherly affection of former times. There is reason for this hope, because the present inhabitants, notwithstanding their degeneracy in one branch of morals, still preserve most of the good habits of their fathers.

## *Historical Dates.*

1660. May 10. Wanachmamak and Nickanoose, head sachems of Nantucket, sold to Thomas Mayhew and others the land lying from the west end of the island to a pond called by the Indians Wagutuquab, and from that pond upon a straight line unto a pond situate on Monumoy Harbour or Creek, and from the north-west corner of the pond to the sea. This territory includes the town.

1661. Jan. 3. Coatue Point was granted by the same sachems to Edward Starbuck.

1661. July 15. At a meeting of the proprietors held at Nantucket, it was determined that each man of the owners should have liberty to choose his house lot at any place not before taken up, and each house lot should contain sixty rods square.

1664. July 7. Pakapenesee sold to a company of proprietors Nanahumas Neck, north of Hummock Pond. Other parts of the island were purchased of inferiour sachems.

Philip, being at Nantucket, declared that he had no claim to the land of Nantucket; but only power, in point of government, over some Indians not belonging to the island.

1671. June 28. A patent was granted by Francis Lovelace, Governour of New York, which recites, that Nantucket was first purchased of James Forett, agent to William Earl of Sterling, by Thomas Mayhew and Thomas his son, and by them, July 2d, 1659, conveyed to several of the inhabitants, who have likewise purchased the Indians' right to the lands; and which the Governour, in the said patent, confirms.

1678. June 1. The town at Wesko, that is, the present town, was laid out in five squadrons, to be each of them eight rods wide, and eighty rods in length, with convenient streets and high ways: each squadron contained four lots, being two rods wide each. From that time the town commenced.

1684. June 5. Nantucket, in a patent, was confirmed to the inhabitants freeholders by Thomas Dongan, Lieut. Gov. of New York under the Duke of York.

1687. June 7. Sherburne was incorporated into a town by Thomas Dongan, Gov. of New York.

### *The Indians.*

When the English first came to Nantucket, it was well inhabited by Indians. There were two tribes on the island, one at the west, and the other at the east end. The western tribe is supposed to have found its way thither from the Main, by the way of Martha's Vineyard, Muskeget, and Tuckanuck Islands. The eastern tribe probably came directly across the Sound, which it might be induced to do, as in particular states of the air, Nantucket is visible from the southern shore of the county of Barnstable. But there was a tradition of fable among them, that an eagle having seized and carried off in his talons a papoos, the parents followed him in their canoe till they came to Nantucket, where they found the bones of their child dropped by the eagle.*

The Indians of Nantucket were a people who were destitute of most of the arts of life. They were acquainted with roasting, but not with boiling. Though they had all the materials on the shore; yet they could not, like the Narragansets, coin wompompeag. They cultivated no plants, except maize, beans, squashes, and tobacco. To each family was assigned a portion of land, equal to about a quarter of an acre, which they broke up as well as they could with the rude tools that they possessed, called in their language mattoks, assisting each other in a very friendly manner. They could now and then kill a bird; and there were a few deer: goat skins, but not the animal itself, were found by the English on the island. Fish could be obtained in the harbours, and on the coast; and shell fish were abundant. During the winter however, they frequently suffered the extremities of famine. Their clothes were sometimes skins, but for the most part coarse mats, made of grass.

The two tribes were hostile to each other. Tradition has preserved a pleasing instance of the force of love. The western tribe having determined to surprise and attack the eastern tribe, a young man of the former, whose mistress belonged to the latter, being anxious for her safety, as soon as he was concealed by the shades of night, ran to the beach, flew along the shore below the limit of high water, saw his

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*Mr. Alden, in his Memorabilia of Yarmouth, gives an Indian fable, which differs somewhat from this. See Coll. of Hist. Soc. V. 56, 1st. Series.

mistress a moment, gave her the alarm, and returned by the same route before day-break: the rising tide washed away the traces of his feet. The next morning he accompanied the other warriours of the tribe to the attack: the enemy was found to be prepared; and no impression could be made on them. He remained undetected, till several years after peace being restored between the two tribes, and the young man having married the girl, the truth came to light.

The first Englishman who settled at Nantucket, was Thomas Macy. He was accompanied by two young men, who came for the sake of shooting the wild fowl, with which the island abounded. They found the land covered with wood. The Indians, who received them with kindness and hospitality, were astonished at the effect of the fire arms, by which more birds could be killed in a day, than they could destroy with their arrows in a month. Afterwards, when more Englishmen came, the land began to be ploughed. The Indians would with delight, for whole days together, follow the traces of the ploughshare; and they earnestly intreated the English to plough their land for them. Their request was complied with. The Indians were religiously punctual in rewarding them for their labour. The first portion of corn collected in the autumn was laid by in baskets, to pay the English for their ploughing: another parcel was reserved for seed. Neither of these portions would they touch in winter, however severe the famine might be; so honest and careful were they at that period. But in process of time, when their morals were corrupted by their commerce with the whites, they became thievish, negligent, and slothful. They would frequently steal from the English; and their corn fields were overrun with weeds. The introduction of ardent spirits among them gradually thinned their numbers; and at length the fever, which attacked them in 1763, almost entirely swept them away. At present there are only two Indian men and six Indian women left on the island.

After the whale-fishery was introduced, the Indians were employed in that service; and they made excellent oarsmen, and some of them were good endsmen. So useful have men of this class been found in the whale-fishery, that the Indians having disappeared, negroes are now substituted in their place. Seamen of colour are more submissive than the whites; but as they are more addicted to frolicking, it is difficult to get them aboard the ship, when it is about to sail, and to keep them aboard, after it has arrived. The negroes, though they are to be prized for their habits of obedience, are not as intelligent as the Indians; and none of them attain the rank of endsmen.

Soon after the English had settled on the island, attempts were made to convert the Indians to the faith of the gospel; and in a course of years all of them became nominal christians.* But their morals do not appear to have been much improved by their conversion. They were however, during every period, generally friendly to the English, who, though they were sometimes alarmed, never experienced any thing from them really hostile. Those who made converts of the Indians were the Congregationalists and the Baptists: it does not appear that any of them became Quakers; whose religion, being so simple and intellectual, without either ceremonies or musick, had no attractions to a nation of savages.

### *Of former Descriptions of Nantucket.*

These notes are not given as a complete description of Nantucket, but only as a supplement to the accounts, which are already before the publick. The reader, who wishes for further information, is referred to the IIId. Vol. of these Collections, 1st. Series, where he will find four valuable papers, written by inhabitants of the island, and containing many things omitted in these Notes. He is also requested to procure, if he can, the Letters of an American Farmer, by Hector St. John de Creve Cœur, which afford the most interesting and entertaining account of this island. It is proper however to advertize him, that against the Letters of the American Farmer two objections may be made. One is, that his pictures, though striking likenesses, are always flattering likenesses: every face glows with the blush of sensibility, and is irradiated with the beams of happiness. The other objection is, that he is frequently erroneous in minute and unimportant circumstances: he gives the contour and character of the face exactly, though, as was said before, in too favourable a light; but he makes strange mistakes in the sleeve of a coat, or the strap of a shoe. If the reader has good nature enough to pardon these two faults, he will peruse the Letters of St. John with perpetual delight*.

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*For an account of the progress of the gospel among the Indians of Nantucket, see 1st. IIId. and Xth. Vol. of Hist. Coll. and Matth. Mayhew's Narrative, p. 29.

*Since these notes were collected, a Description of Nantucket, by Joseph Sansom, Esq. of Philadelphia, has been publishd in the Vth. Vol. of the Port Folio, p. 30. This Description is written in a popular style, and is an accurate, as well as an amusing paper. It has obliged the author of these Notes, in transcribing them for the press, to omit several things which he intended to have printed.

# A DESCRIPTION OF NANTUCKET, BY JOSEPH SANSOM

FROM THE PORT FOLIO, VOL. 5, PG. 30. PUBLISHED BY BRADFORD & INSKEEP, PHILADELPHIA 1811.

The description and view of Nantucket, which illustrate this month's Port Folio, will be surveyed with additional delight, when the public are apprized that, both for the sketch and the essay we are indebted to the genius of a gentleman* who is a friend to the muses, to the fine arts, and to his country.

The island of Nantucket has been called, "a sand bank," till its sterility has become proverbial, and no other idea of its naked plains is entertained upon the neighboring continent, than that they form *a place for fishermen to dry their nets on.* Yet the shoals of Nantucket, so carefully avoided by European navigators, surround some thousand acres of arable land, deversified with hill and dale, and productive, with little cultivation, of indian corn, rye, oats, barley, and all the variety of succulent vegetables, which contribute so largely to the support of man. Nay so rich is Nantucket in medicinal herbs, that it has been declared, by an eminent physician, to produce native remedies for all the diseases of its inhabitants; and a naturalist, who lately visited the island, in search of *non-descripts,* pronounced it, in the raptures of discovery, "A garden of plants."

All this however might be fairly presumed, from the well-known fact, that when the first settlers landed here, they found two or three

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*Joseph Sansom, Esqr. of this city, who has honourably distinguished himself in the republic of letters, by his interesting travels in Switzerland and the Papal territories; a work, which has been so cordially greeted in Great Britain, that we understand it forms a prominent and conspicuous article, in Philip's collection of contemporary voyages and travels. From some fantastic and inexplicable circumstance, a gentleman who deserves so well of his country, has been rather cooly, if not cavalierly treated *at home,* and receives the most distinguished literary honours *abroad.* That this is not exactly a *novel* case our friend may learn from a very illustrious example, recorded in the most venerable of volumes. We learn, with a sort of pleasure, that none but literary men can feel and estimate, that the Port Folio is to be honoured with the publication of a second series of letters, comprehending our author's adventures in France and England. To this correspondence we shall render due honours. The theme is certainly brilliant and copious and we have every disposition to be *partial* to the mode in which it is treated.

thousand natives, subsisting, with little care or labour, upon the spontaneous productions of the earth and sea. But, unhappily for these sons of the forest, their island though no more than three miles in width, was yet long enough, in the shape of a half moon, to admit of a divison in the middle; and from the earliest recollections of old age, or tradition, the inhabitants of the east end of it had been at war with those of the west, though they were only separated from each other by shaggy woods, and either party could at any time march along the beach, into the enemy's country, between the ebbing and flowing of the tides. Like the prouder history of civilized nations, their story is brief, without the interludes of war and bloodshed; and nothing more is now remembered of the Aboriginals of Nantucket, than that the last sachem of the Wampanoags (king Philip in the annals of Newengland) was acknowledged by them as lord paramount, and that all the wampum that could be collected upon the island, was one sent over to pacify his wrath against an offender.

They received the new comers with open arms, and sold them all the land they did not actually occupy, with unsuspecting simplicity. Like the other natives of the American wilderness, notwithstanding the crude reports, or wilful misrepresentations, of superficial observers, the indians of Nantucket believed in "the Great Spirit," who created heaven and earth; and that the souls of good men would ascend to him in a future state. It was reserved for civilized man to conceive, that the frame of the universe was constructed without design, and that the harmony of nature might be the result of accident. A zealous missionary arrived among them. They were converted to the christian faith, without adopting correspondent habits, their active ferocity sunk into listless indolence, and they gradually dwindled away, under the ravages of the small pox, and the debilitating effects of spirituous liquors, until in the winter of 1763—4 the then remainder, amounting to several hundreds, were nearly all swept off at once, by a pestilential fever. One or two old women now only survive of a population that may be traced on every hillock, and in every plain by mouldering clam shells, and those local appellations, which are yet remembered, where the villages they belonged to have been long forgotten.

It was in 1659 — the year in which William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson suffered death, at Boston, for their religious protest against that intolerant zeal, which actuated the early rulers of Newengland, that Tomas Macy, the future patriarch of Nantucket, who then lived at Salisbury, near Salem in Massachusetts, was requested, one

stormy night, by a couple of banished quakers, to permit them to take shelter in his barn: but, like Abraham of old, this good man was *not unmindful to entertain strangers,* and he received them into his house, notwithstanding a law of the colony against harbouring the obnoxious sectaries. For this offence he was prosecuted with the utmost rigour; and being himself a baptist, liable to all the pains and penalties of nonconformity to the orthodox pattern of faith and worship, he formed the resolution of quitting his native country, and migrating to Nantucket.

Here he was soon joined from similar motives, by Edward Starbuck; and so little did these harmless men apprehend any injury from the Indians by whom they were surrounded, that they settled near two miles apart. Not long afterwards the natives collected in great numbers, near Macy's plantation; and worked themselves up into a great fury, singing and dancing with all their might. Macy, apprehending they meant to exterminate the new comers, sent a boy round the beach to tell his "brother Starbuck" (for such it seems was their primitive phraseology) that he believed the Indians were plotting mischief. Starbuck being a bold man is said to have took his hat and cane, and walked directly over to Macys, to see what was the matter, when, after looking awhile upon the Indians, he cried with a loud voice "Is not the Lord on our side? of whom shall we be afraid? — One shall chace a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight?" And sallying forth upon the astonished natives he brandished his staff, and drove them all off the turf. They understood afterwards however that it was nothing more than a grand "Pow-wow" by way of a prayer for rain — surely an application not less acceptable to the universal Benefactor than a *te dum* for successful slaughter, though performed in a cathedral, by consecrated priests.

These two families were soon joined by other sober people, of the presbyterian persuasion, who were admitted to the participation of equal rights, both civil and religious; and such was the simplicity of manners that prevailed among their posterity, and so little have these tranquil islanders been actuated by the love of power, or fame, that no name is so celebrated in Nantucket history as that of a female; and Mary Starbuck is remembered, after the lapse of a century, as the only person that ever obtained a marked ascendancy in the island. Nothing of importance was attempted, in her day, without consulting her; and even the town meeting delayed its temperate conclusions, till her opinion could be known. When John Richardson visited the island, in 1701,

this eminent woman embraced the principles of Fox and Barclay, in which she was followed by many of her friends and neighbours, from whom are descended the present quakers of the place.

Nantucket now constitutes a county of the same name, in the state of Massachusetts, containing eight or nine thousand inhabitants, who have a right to send nine representatives to the general court: but they seldom think it necessary to deputize more than one person, to attend to their interests at the seat of government; though the full extent of the elective franchise was lately exerted by the democratic party (which is here predominant) to influence some political question; and nine persons were chosen for legislators of the state, with as little regard to qualification for office, as is frequently displayed in some other parts of this land of freedom, to the great disparagement of universal suffrage.

The light house upon Nantucket stands in latitude 41. 22, longitude 69. 58. This singular island, which seems to have been designed by Providence, as a nursery for sailors, pilots, and fishermen, lies about eight leagues to the south of the peninsula of Cape Cod, and about seven to the east of the island of Martha's Vineyard. It is reckoned about ninety miles from Boston, and three hundred and eighty from Philadelphia. — Though little more than three miles in breadth, it is not less than fifteen in length, from east to west, with a long sandy point, stretching to the northward; which makes a fine road for ships, on the north side of the island, except when the wind is at northwest. The harbour is a fine natural basin, about a mile over, and 12 or 15 feet deep; but a bar of sand stretches quite across the mouth of it, on which there is but 7 feet of water at ebb tide, which renders it necessary to unload large vessels by means of lighters.

The town was originally called Sherburne after a seaport of that name in Dorsetshire, G. B. but as there is no other place of any consequence upon the island, the distinctive appellation is lost in the general name of Nantucket. It is pleasantly situated upon a gentle slope, on the south-west side of the harbour, surmounted by a row of windmills, and flanked, to the right and left, by extensive ropewalks. There is generally 15 or 20 sail of square rigged vessels in port, with twice or three times that number of coasters, presenting a lively scene, as you enter from sea; the stores and houses, which are built of timber, being mostly painted red, or white, and crowned by the steeples, or rather towers, of two presbyterian meeting houses.

This town has the honour of giving birth to the maternal grandfather of the great Franklin, his name was Peter Folger, and the docter tells us, in the interesting narrative of his early life, that he was thought to have inherited from this ancestor some traits of his disposition. He was a writer, and dates a poetical effusion, upon some local subject, with the public spirit so characteristic of his grandson,

"From Sherburne, where I dwell,
"Your friend, who means you well."

The whale fishery, upon which Nantucket depends, and which gives a peculiar character to its inhabitants, who are reckoned the most expert whalers in the world, is said to have been first attempted, about the year 1690, in boats, from the shore. In 1715 they had six sloops in the trade; and from 1772 to 75 the fishery employed 150 sail, from 90 to 180 tons, upon the coast of Giunea, the West Indies, and Brazil. The Revolution put a stop to this prosperous commerce, and it did not immediately revive upon the peace of 83; in consequence of which many families removed to Kennebeck, Newbedford, Hudson's River, North Carolina, and other places on the continent; but their place has been since amply supplied by new comers, who flocked thither from different parts, on the revival of trade, under the new constitution.

A number of families, under the direction of the respectable William Rotch, had gone over to France at the invitation of the then prime minister, the count de Vergennes, to prosecute their useful occupation with peculiar privileges and immunities, at Dunkirk; but the revolution which hurled Lewis XVI from the throne taking place soon after, prevented their intended establishment; and the greater part of the adventurers happily returned to their own country, where some of them in their native place, and some at its thriving colony of Newbedford (distant 60 miles) have ever since pursued their favourite occupation; and, having chased their gigantic game out of the Atlantic, now pursue the flying whale into the great South Sea, frequently doubling Cape Horn, and sometimes ascending the north west coast of America, till they nearly encompass the globe, in voyages of two of three years duration.

On these whaling trips round the world, instead of wages, every seaman takes a share in the ultimate proceeds of the voyage, a mode of engagement palpably conducive to habits of industry and fidelity. They are often mere boys, who grow up during the voyage; but mostly married men, who have left wives and children behind them, to whom

they return with all the earnestness of conjugal or parental affection, to share with them the well earned savings of their long protracted voyage.

There are at present about 1200 sailors, and 15000 tons of shipping employed at this place; and 15 or 20 spermaceti works are erected on the island, which manufacture great quantities of candles, and supply the numerous light-houses of our coast, as well as the streets of our cities with oil; besides occasionally contributing to the unbounded consumption of the London market, and the frequent wants of Cadiz, Marseilles, and the Levant.

Industry and frugality are virtues at Nantucket, and idleness is a vice. Every man upon the island is well acquainted with the cheapest method of procuring lumber from Kennebeck or Passamaquoddy, beef and pork from Connecticut, flower and biscuit from Philadelphia, or pitch and tar from North Carolina; and knows how to exchange codfish, and West India produce for such articles as are wanted in New Spain, or on the northwest coast.

Such is the simplicity of this primitive place, and so small is the resort of strangers, that the streets which have branched out from each other by imperceptible degrees, every man being at liberty to place his house according to his own fancy, and being naturally more disposed to regulate his front by a point of compass, than by the direction of the street, had never any names given to them, until the assessment for the direct tax under president Adams; and the sounding appelations of Federal street, Washington street, &c. &c. then given, have fallen into disuse, with the unpopular measure which occasioned them; and inquirers are now again directed, as before, to the well known neighbourhood of such and such an old stander, in the respective quarters of West Cove, Up-in-town, or the North Shore. The most common family names are Coffin, and Bunker, and Starbuck, and Hussey, which are frequently combined according to the genius of the place, with the scriptural sirnames of Peleg, and Shubal, and Obed, and Jethro. Thus if you do not know where such a one lives, you may be gravely informed, in Elisha Bunker's street, or David Mitchel's street, or Tristram Hussey's, or captain Haydn's. The streets, or rather roads, for none of them have ever been paved, run along the hollows, or wind up the hills, but the houses stand generally single, presenting to the passenger sometimes a line, and sometimes an angle; and so rare is any thing like a row, that two or three standing together will be currently described as, "The long houses." Yet two banks and two insurance

offices, accommodate the trade of the place; and the town is supposed to have nearly doubled its population, in the last twenty years. Several new streets have been laid out in straight lines, and a number of houses have been built, within a year or two, with ceilings of ten feet high. This however is considered as a piece of useless extravagance, the old fashioned stories of eight or nine feet being generally reckoned high enough, and to spare.

Every other house in this sea-faring place has a look out upon the roof, or a vane at the gable end; to see what ships have arrived from sea or whether the wind is fair for the packets. Sea phrases accordingly prevail in familiar conversation. Every child can tell *which way the wind blows,* and any old woman in the street, will talk of *cruising about, hailing an old messmate,* or *making one bring to,* as familiarly as the captain of a whale ship, just arrived from the north-west coast, will describe dimension to *a landlubber* by the span of his *gibboom,* or the length of his *mainstay.* If you have a spare dinner *it is short allowance;* if you are going to ride, the horse must be *tackled up;* or if the chaise is *rigged out,* and you are got *under way,* should you stop short of your *destination,* you are said to *tack about,* or to *make a harbour.* This technical phraseology, however, is attended with the concomitant frankness and honesty of sea-faring life. You meet a hearty welcome wherever you go; shop windows are without windowshutters for security; and winter's wood is piled up in the street.

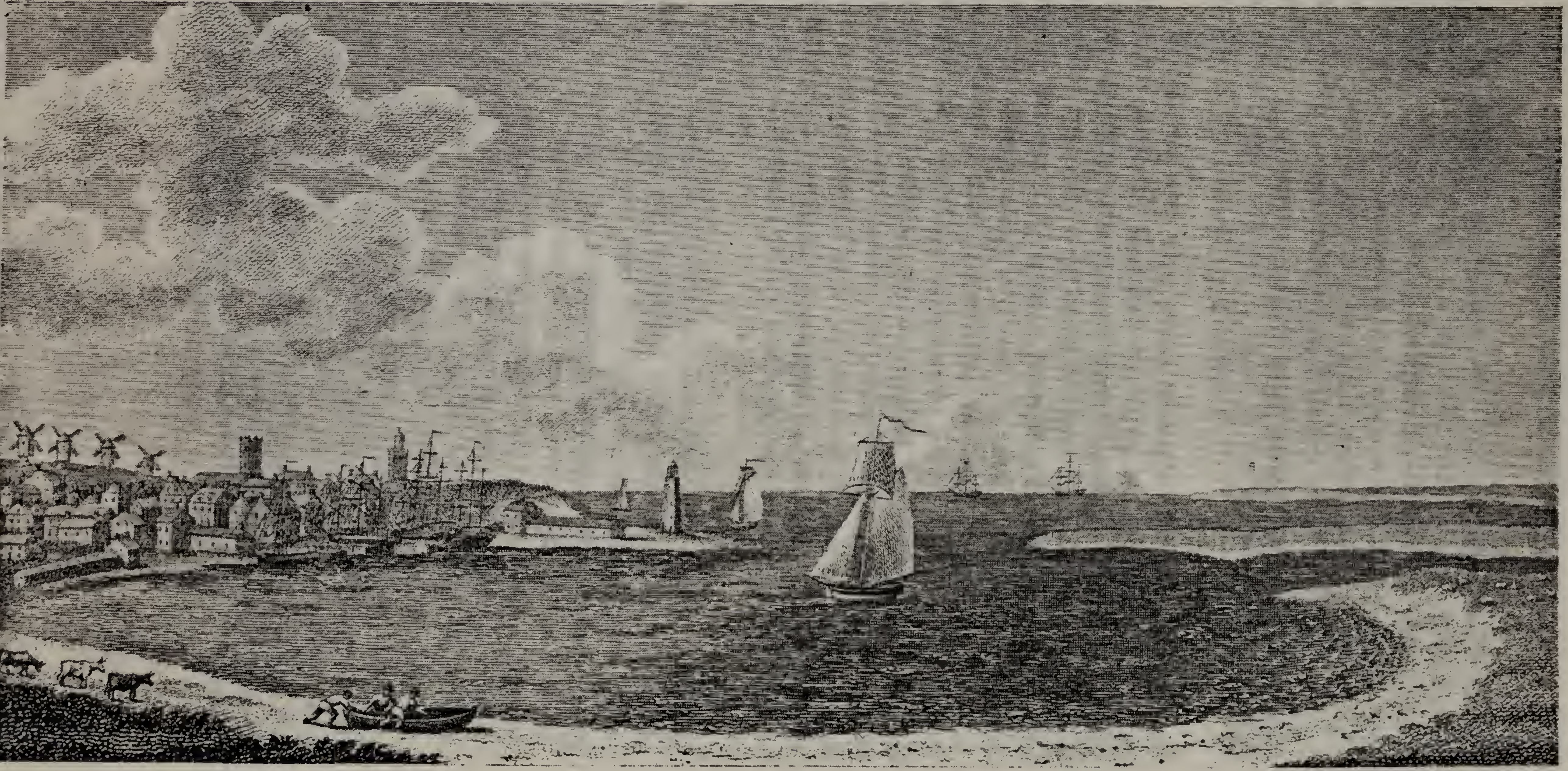
Before the revolution county courts were regularly opened once a year, at the time prescribed in the almanack; but the officers of justice only assembled to smoke a pipe or two, and adjourn the court. During the war even this formality was dispensed with, and disputes were universally settled by arbitration: but since peace and prosperity have occasioned an influx of strangers, lawsuits are no longer unknown in Nantucket; and now they say supercargoes are pestered with attachments, and sailors with writs of suit, before they can get cleared out for their triennial circumnavigations.

Criminal prosecutions however are still unheard of, in this abode of primæval simplicity. The only person that was ever executed on the island was an indian, who had committed murder upon the high seas; and corporal punishment (once so freely dispensed in Newengland, and not unknown even in the best days of Pennsylvania) has here long been obsolete.

The prison is admirably adapted to this state of things, for it would not readily contain more than two or three inmates at a time. Of its present incumbents, one is a little deranged, and refuses to quit the place; and the other, it is said, might go too if he would. The dimensions of the poor house are proportionably contracted, for there are no idlers at Nantucket, and the decrepid are supported in their own neighbourhoods by voluntary alms. The courthouse itself is but a one story frame of 20 feet square.

Not so the grammar school, which is a capacious edifice with a belfry, or the Free Masons' Lodge, whose ample halls are occupied as free schools, and serve occasionally for public or municipal purposes, whilst five large meeting houses, two for presbyterians, two for friends (or quakers) and one for methodists, assemble the greater part of the inhabitants of this peaceful island two or three times a week.

Everything here reminds one of a religious community, like that of the Moravian brethren, for instance, abstracted, but not wholly withdrawn from the world. The tranquility of a convent pervades the streets, except when the bell rings for dinner, and droves of cows go out and come in under a herdsman grotesquely accoutred. The great bell agreeable to a good old Newengland custom, is tolled every evening at 9 o'clock, to warn the citizens to their homes; and one of the steeples, in the true spirit of commercial usefulness, has been constructed with a view to serve for a look-out. It commands the whole island, together with its sea girt horizon; and there is one individual, whose observant eye is sharp enough, with the help of glasses, to distinguish the different vessels belonging to the place, as they come to anchor, occasionally, in the harbour of Martha's Vineyard. Even the amusements of children partake of the sea-faring spirit. They learn to row spontaneously, as they learn to swim; and nothing is more common in the harbour of Sherburne, than to see the boys paddling about upon planks, or putting before the wind little sail boats of their construction. This early initiation begets a hankering after the sea, and by the time they are ten or twelve years of age they will ship themselves for cabbin boys, and are with difficulty restrained by their parents from undertaking the most hazardous adventures. Not long since a boy of ten years old broke away from school, and got on board of the Bedford Packet, he was gone some days before he could be heard of, and when the little rogue was asked what could have induced him to run away from his friends, he cooly replied, *He was tired of seeing nothing but Nantucket.*



The numerous ponds upon the island once abounded with Teal, Brant, and other varieties of wild fowl; and the head of the harbour, running several miles inland, furnished the first settlers with plenty of clams and oysters. These have now become scarce, from being too freely used; but the neighbouring banks still abound with cod, halibut, sea-bass; blackfish, mackerel, herring, flounders, smelt, perch, &c. The soil produces spontaneously, besides beach grass, blue grass, herd grass, and white clover; and peat is found in the swamps: but it is totally destitute of stone as well as of timber.

In common with other places of easy circumstance, and difficult access, the people of Nantucket are happy to see strangers, and such as have any thing to recommend them to notice, are entertained with unbounded hospitality from house to house. Luxuries are held in common, for whoever has any thing better than his neighbours will send it to them without asking in case of company, or sickness. If one who gives a dinner is scant of provisions, he makes no scruple to borrow a joint of meat, and (what is frequently less convenient to the lender) a horse, or a riding chair, will be appplied for without reserve; and a refusal would hardly be taken well, though the loan should reduce the owner to go out himself in a cart, the usual carriage of the island, in which the most responsible personages are seen riding about with all the gravity of decorum, in hats and wigs, with their wives and daughters at their side.

When riding chairs were first introduced at Nantucket the outlandish conveyance was considered as too effeminate for manly use, and of the two persons who first risked the innovation, one was persuaded to renounce the unbecoming indulgence, and the other only retained it in consideration of delicate health, and on condition of lending it to others in the same predicament. The progress of improvement, however, and the influx of wealth, were not to be long resisted; but the obnoxious vehicle is still regarded by the commonalty with a jealous eye, on occasional rencounters in the streets; and the riders in carts unwillingly give way to the riders in chairs, on their afternoon excursions to Quayes, and Palpus, and Pocomo, and Squam, lone houses of the same sober gray with the heath which surrounds them, unsheltered by a single tree of native growth; yet there is one spot on the island which is still called, "the woods," though it has been time out of mind, without a shrub, the native trees having gone to decay on clearing the fields and letting in the sea air.

Upon a high bluff which breasts the surges, at the east end of this monotonous plain, are two fishing villages, Sesakaty and Siasconsit. The latter consists of about forty houses, or rather huts, of one story, standing apart, in four rows, leaving three broad lanes between them, which are covered with a fine sward of grass, the place being only resorted to spring and fall; when the bank is crowded with women and children, and 20 or 30 boats are sometimes seen off shore at a time, catching cod. In a more simple age it was customary for visitors from town to make themselves welcome at any table in the place; and when they went away to take what fish they pleased, for nothing. Now two or three widowed families make a living by entertaining strangers, and if they want fish they pay for it.

Before the revolution, the people of Nantucket were like a band of brothers. They were then an unmixed race, of English descent. They were all clad in homespun, and minded their own business. Such a thing as a bankruptcy was therefore almost unexampled. They are now much intermixed with strangers, and concomitant habits prevail; yet they still frequently call each other by the familiar appellations of uncle, aunt, cousin, &c. Persons of note are saluted by every body they meet; and the popular name of captain is often bestowed on respectable people, who never followed the sea, and perpetuated, as a creditable title, like that of squire on the continent, to those who have retired from business. One quiet lane, leading into the country, is called India Row, from the number of persons of this description, who reside there, in ease, and affluence; and Mitchel street, so called from being mostly inhabited by people of that name, forms a delightful retreat along shore, for those concerned in the whale trade; some of whom are very rich, and many of them inhabit roomy houses, and live in the genteelest style of middle life, except only the use of that elegant luxury called a coach.

From the habit of transacting business in the absence of their husbands, women are frequently concerned in mercantile affairs and manage them to advantage. Two lawyers suffice the wrangling of the bar, and ply their talents upon the continent, between the terms; and three doctors recommend themselves to practice by making up their own prescriptions, and frequently adopting the simples which were used by the Indian natives. No printer has ever thought it worth while to establish himself at Nantucket, since nobody there pretends to fathom the gulf of foreign politics; and domestic disputes are never agitated, but at the eve of an election.

During the war the people of this secluded island were prevented by their situation, from taking any part in the struggle for independence, and they were suffered to maintain a sort of defenceless neutrality, between alternate marauders, neither party suspecting treachery, or committing unnecessary depredations at Nantucket, whose peaceable inhabitants are to this day allowed an exemption from the oppressive routine of militia duty: but the harbour of Sherburne is mostly filled with ice every season, and in the hard winter of 1780, the surface of the sea was frozen over as far as the eye could reach, and all communication with the continent was cut off during forty days. Such a circumstance had never occurred before, the winters being rarely severe. In summer they enjoy a happy temperature, the thermometer seldom rising above 80°. of Fahrenheit; and the highest winds seldom preventing a daily intercourse with the neighbouring continent.

The whole island is held in common, under shares of propriety, originally no more than twenty-seven; but these have been subdivided, by purchase, or inheritance, till many proprietors of the poorer class hold no more than gives them a right to pasture one cow, or eight sheep; a horse being reckoned equivalent to two cows. A council of proprietors prevents encroachments, and decides, every season, on what part of the island the great corn field shall be. Here every one cultivates his own share, which is sometimes but a narrow slip, the bounds of which he carefully marks, by sticks or stones; but should these be displaced the horse that ploughed it up, may safely be trusted to find the spot again. Once a year, about the middle of June, all the sheep, amounting to some thousands, are driven into pens, when each man selects his own, shears them himself, and separates such as he wants for use. This is the only holiday which is kept at Nantucket. The whole country turns out to enjoy the occasion, booths are set up with refreshments, and the annual merriment is as highly relished by these sober people, as the salutations of May morning, or the healths of Washington's birth day.

Such has been, for a century and a half, the patriarchal manner of occupying the island of Nantucket: but the spirit of innovation has found its way even here; and there is now a plan in agitation for dividing to each proprietor his share, in fee simple, under the specious plea of putting it into the power of every man, "to manage his own affairs, in his own way." Should this operation take place, it will probably throw large tracts into particular hands, who may improve the breed of sheep, and ameliorate the soil — perhaps plant trees, that

might again keep off the spray of the sea, and cover the nakedness of the land: but the place would lose forever its most interesting peculiarities. It would be no longer a copartnership of kinsfolk, with a common interest in the general prosperity. The small landholders would be obliged to sell their freeholds, because they would not be worth fencing in.

The present equality and sociability of all ranks, would give place to that emulation, and reserve, which prevail in more cultivated societies; and, in another century, the people of Nantucket would be no longer remarkable for an attachment to their native place, which is now one of their distinguishing characteristics.

## TRIAL BY JURY

The Hampshire Gazette of Northampton, Mass., issue of Nov. 9, 1825, contains the following.

About five in the afternoon we reached Nantucket. The town is situated about the middle of the island on the north side. The harbor is small and inconvenient. The town has a population of about 8000. Most of the inhabitants are huddled together in this one spot. There is not, perhaps, 300 in all the rest of the island. Next to Salem this is the largest town in the commonwealth. The buildings are almost entirely of wood: there are but four brick edifices in the place. Few of them are large and none elegant. They are shingled on the sides instead of clap-boarded as is the custom in other parts of the country.

The streets are most of them uncomfortably narrow and few of them paved. The sand in them is so deep, that every step sinks you over shoes. — What confuses a stranger not a little is, that the streets are not named; neither are the doors numbered; so that to find the house of a particular person by inquiry would be an hopeless undertaking.

About one third of the population is composed of Quakers. The simplicity of this economical sect has characterized the manners and dress of most of the inhabitants. — All enjoy a happy mediocrity, neither disgusting you with idle foppery nor offending by vulgarity. Their hospitality is become proverbial.

The island of Nantucket constitutes an entire county. It sends a senator to the General Court and a representative, and one of the present counsellors is from this place, the Hon. Hezekiah Barnard. Its government is almost patriarchal. The Courts sit here regularly as in other counties; but all cases are argued and decided long before the holding of the Court. The jurymen and parties to the suit are always personally acquainted with each other. The circumstances and the justice of the case in question are well understood by the whole populace; and notwithstanding the sage remarks of counsel, and the imposing injunctions of the Judge; the jury fail not to do right by returning a verdict according to the opinions they have formed beforehand, public opinion settles all disputes.

A stranger is struck with the curious vehicle in which the merchants ride about the town. It is a small horse cart drawn by one horse and called by them a *calash*. The persons riding stand up instead of

sitting down. The sand is so deep that they pass through the streets without making the least noise. It is matter of no surprise with the people to see a counsellor, senator, representative and some of the most important men of the island riding in one of these little awkward and inconvenient carriages at once. Even the ladies do not hesitate to take the air in them. They are the principal vehicle used. As there is little occasion for coaches on the island, the number is very small.

# RALPH WALDO EMERSON

Most people do not know that Mr. Emerson visited Nantucket and wrote about it in his Journal, as printed below.

Mary Strong, that book-wise lover of Nantucket, called it to our attention.

Mr. Emerson was invited to give a course of six lectures, probably "Representative Men," on the island of Nantucket and accordingly did so, spending the first two weeks of May there. The recompense was ten dollars a lecture and all expenses paid. He found his stay there very interesting. On Sunday he read from the pulpit his discourse on "Worship."

May 23, 1847.

On the seashore at Nantucket I saw the play of the Atlantic with the coast. Here was wealth; every wave reached a quarter of a mile along shore as it broke. There are no rich men, I said, to compare with these. Every wave is a fortune. One thinks of Etzlers and great projectors who will yet turn this immense waste strength to account and save the limbs of human slaves. Ah, what freedom and grace and beauty with all this might! The wind blew back the foam from the top of each billow as it rolled in, like the hair of a woman in the wind. The freedom makes the observer feel as a slave. Our expression is so slender, thin, and cramp; can we not learn here a generous eloquence?

This was the lesson our starving poverty wanted. This was the disciplinary Pythagorean music which should be medicine.

Then the seeing so excellent a spectacle is a certificate that all imaginable good shall yet be realized. We should not have dared to believe that this existed. Well, what does not the actual beholding of a hero or of a finished woman certify?

Nation of Nantucket makes its own war and peace. Place of winds, bleak, shelterless, and, when it blows, a large part of the island is suspended in the air and comes into your face and eyes as if it was glad to see you. The moon comes here as if it was at home, but there is no shade. A strong national feeling. Very sensitive to everything that dishonours the island, because it hurts the value of stock till the company are poorer.

Fifty persons own five sevenths of all the property on the island. Calashes.[1] At the fire, they pilfered freely, as if, after a man was burnt out, his things belonged to the fire and everybody might have them.

Before the Athenaeum is a huge jawbone of a sperm whale, and at the corners of streets I noticed (Chester Street) the posts were of the same material. They say here that a northeaster never dies in debt to a southwester, but pays all back with interest.

Captain Isaac Hussey, who goes out soon in the Planter, had his boat stove by a whale; he instantly swum to the whale and planted his lance in his side and killed him before he got into another boat. The same man, being dragged under water by the coil of his line, got his knife out of his pocket and cut the line and released himself. Captain Brayton was also dragged down, but the whale stopped after a short distance and he came up. I saw Captain Pollard. The captains remember the quarterdeck in their houses.

Fifty-five months are some voyages. Nine thousand five hundred people, eighty ships. New Bedford has three hundred ships.

I saw Captain Isaac Hussey in the steamboat and asked him about that penknife. He said, No, he felt in his pocket for his knife, but had none there, then he managed to let down his trousers and get the line off from his leg, and rose. At last he saw light overhead and instantly felt safe. When he broke water his men were a quarter of a mile off, looking out for him; they soon discovered him and picked him up.

Captain Brooks told me that the last whale he killed was seventy-two feet long, fifty-two feet in girth, and he got two hundred barrels of oil from him.

The young man sacrificed by lot in the boats of the ship Essex was named Coffin, nephew of Captain Pollard and a schoolmate of Edward Gardner.

"Grass Widows" they call the wives of these people absent from home four or five years.

Walter Folger has made a reflecting telescope and a clock which is now in his house and which measures hours, days, years, and centuries. In William Mitchell's observatory I saw a nebula in Cassiopeia, the double star at the pole, the double star Zeta Ursi.

At Nantucket every blade of grass describes a circle on the sand.

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[1] An old-fashioned light hood for women, made usually of silk, wadded. It was distended by hoops of light cane, so that it could be pulled forward over the face like a chaise-top, or pushed back.

## MOBY DICK; OR THE WHALE

That classic, fictional romance of the sea, reciting the cruise of a Nantucket whale ship (Pequod) written by Herman Melville, was first published in 1851. It was based in part on the narrative by Owen Chase of the loss of the whale ship Essex of Nantucket in 1820, in mid-Pacific. The ship had been stove by a whale and Mate Chase of Orange Street was one of the survivors.

Melville speaks of Nantucket as follows, in which the concluding sentences are of special note.

Nantucket; Take out your map and look at it. See what a real corner of the world it occupies; how it stands there, away off shore, more lonely than the Eddystone Lighthouse. Look at it — a mere hillock, and elbow of sand; all beach, without a background. There is more sand there than you would use in twenty years as a substitute for blotting-paper. Some gamesome wights will tell you that they have to plant weeds there, they don't grow naturally; that they import Canada thistles; that they have to send beyond seas for a spile to stop a leak in an oil cask; that pieces of wood in Nantucket are carried about like bits of the true cross in Rome; that people there plant toadstools before their houses to get under the shade in summer time; that one blade of grass makes an oasis, three blades in a day's walk a prairie; that they wear quicksand shoes, something like Laplander snowshoes; that they are so shut up, belted about, every way enclosed, surrounded, and made an utter island of by the ocean, that to their very chairs and tables small clams will sometimes be found adhering, as to the backs of sea turtles. But these extravaganzas only show that Nantucket is no Illinois.

Look now at the wondrous traditional story of how this island was settled by the red men. Thus goes the legend. In olden times an eagle swooped down upon the New England coast, and carried off an infant Indian in his talons. With loud lament the parents saw the child borne out of sight over the wide waters. They resolved to follow in the same direction. Setting out in their canoes, after a perilous passage they discovered the island, and there they found an empty ivory casket, — the poor little Indian's skeleton.

What wonder, then, that these Nantucketers, born on a beach, should take to the sea for a livelihood! They first caught crabs and quohogs in the sand; grown bolder, they waded out with nets for mackerel; more experienced, they pushed off in boats and captured

cod; and, at last, launching a navy of great ships on the sea, explored this watery world; put an incessant belt of circumnavigation round it; peeped in at Behring's Straits; and in all seasons and all oceans declared everlasting war with the mightiest animated mass that has survived the flood; most monstrous and most mountainous! That Himmalehan, salt-sea Mastodon, clothed with such portentousness of unconscious power, that his very panics are more to be dreaded than his most fearless and malicious assaults!

And thus have these naked Nantucketers, these sea-hermits, issuing from their anthill in the sea, overrun and conquered the watery world like so many Alexanders; parcelling out among them the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans, as the three pirate powers did Poland. Let America add Mexico to Texas, and pile Cuba upon Canada; let the English overswarm all India, and hang out their blazing banner from the sun; two-thirds of this terraqueous globe are the Nantucketer's. For the sea is his; he owns it as Emperors own Empires; other seamen having but a right of way through it. Merchant ships are but extension bridges armed ones but floating forts; even pirates and privateers, though following the sea as highwaymen the road, they but plunder other ships, other fragments of the land like themselves, without seeking to draw their living from the bottomless deep itself. The Nantucketer, he alone resides and riots on the sea; he alone, in Bible language, goes down to it in ships; to and fro ploughing it as his own special plantation. *There* is his home; *there* lies his business, which a Noah's flood would not interrupt, though it overwhelmed all the millions in China. He lives on the sea, as prairie cocks in the prairie; he hides among the waves, he climbs them as chamois hunters climb the Alps. For years he knows not the land; so that when he comes to it at last, it smells like another world, more strangely than the moon would to an Earthsman. With the landless gull, that at sunset folds her wings and is rocked to sleep between billows; so at nightfall, the Nantucketer, out of sight of land, furls his sails, and lays him to his rest, while under his very pillow rush herds of walruses and whales.

# PART II

## BOOKS TO COLLECT AND BOOKS TO READ

If collecting is to be based upon rarity, the first item to mention is Peter Folger's *Looking Glass,* elsewhere described at length, of which but one copy is known to exist.

We know of one copy of *The Sycamores, Nantucket 1857;* it belongs to the Nantucket Historical Association, and have heard of at least one other. Miss Caroline L. Tallant of Nantucket, had these verses printed in a tiny pamphlet, on the cover of which appeared this title. This became the first and perhaps the only separate printing of these verses that Whittier had written about the sycamore trees along the banks of the Merrimac River near his home in Haverhill. It had been published in a local newspaper and came to Miss Tallant's attention. She was a descendant of Hugh Tallant who planted the trees. Just the one word makes it a Nantucket item.

Another rarity is *A Nest of Love Disturbed, or the Farmer's Dialogue,* which relates to the common and undivided lands, and was printed in pamphlet form in 1811. Harry Turner has a copy.

Turning from such items we would say that the following selections should form the basis of a collection of Nantucket books; obviously, it could be amplified to any extent as shown by our check-list, and some of the items are now difficult to get which adds to the interest.

Chase—*Loss of the Essex.* Lay—*Globe Mutiny.* These two sea tragedies in their original editions are outstanding Nantucketiana, to which could be added a first edition of *Moby Dick* by Melville.

In this foundation collection belong Hough's Papers from the Albany records; Obed Macy's 1835 *History of Nantucket;* Hart's *Miriam Coffin* (being sure it is the two separate volume 1834 first edition) ; Starbuck's *History of American Whale Fishery,* of 1878 (not to be confused with Starbuck's *History of Nantucket;*) Edgar Allan Poe's *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym; American Farmer's Letters,* 1782 edition; and a complete set of the Nantucket Historical Association Proceedings, and of their Bulletins.

Reading for entertainment or information is guided by Taste, for which there is no one standard. People often ask, "What shall I read about Nantucket?" For them the following lists are prepared, in nine categories. Many items, some just as good, may have been omitted but those mentioned are quite adequate for this purpose.

## THE SEA

*Cary*—Wrecked on the Feejees
*Jenkins*—Bark Kathleen Sunk by a Whale
*Chase*—Loss of the Essex (Stove by a Whale)
*Paddock*—Shipwreck of the Ship Oswego
*Paddock*—Life on the Ocean
*Hart*—Miriam Coffin, or the Whale Fishermen
*Delano*—Life in a Whaleship
*Endicott*—Wrecked Among Cannibals in the Fijis
*Gardner*—Wrecks around Nantucket
*Lay*—Globe Mutiny
*Melville*—Moby Dick
*Melville*—The Town-Ho's Story
*Reynolds*—Mocha Dick
*Murphey*—Whaling Voyage on Ship Dauphin
*Sharp*—Captain of the Vanished Fleet
*Brock*—Doubling Cape Horn
*Spears*—The Story of the New England Whalers
*State Street Trust Company*—Whale Fishing
*Starbuck*—Whale Oil & Spermaceti
*Coffin*—Sailing the Sea
*Taber Bros.*—Whaling Directory
*Starbuck*—History of American Whale Fishery
*Brock*—Doubling Cape Horn

## ANECDOTES, DESCRIPTIONS & SAYINGS

*Stevens*—Nantucket, the Far Away Island
*Austin*—Nantucket Scraps
*Bliss*—Quaint Nantucket
*Macy*—Story of Old Nantucket
*Eaton*—Descriptions of Nantucket
*Farnham*—Historical Data and Memories
*Folger*—The Glacier's Gift
*Godfrey*—Nantucket Guide
*Hussey*—Talks about Old Nantucket
*Hussey*—Nantucket in a Nutshell
*Macy*—Nantucket Scrap Basket
*Drake*—Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast
*Wyer*—Spun Yarn

## PLANTS, FLOWERS AND BIRDS

*Albertson*—Nantucket Wild Flowers
*Bicknell*—Ferns and Flowering Plants of Nantucket
*Wilson*—Boggy Solitudes
*Jones*—Pinus Thunbergii on Nantucket
*Owen*—Catalogue of Plants Growing without Cultivation in Nantucket County
*Brooks*—A Preliminary List of Birds of Nantucket
*Meade*—Some Late Summer Birds of Nantucket

## ARCHITECTURE

*Crosby*—95% Perfect
*Crosby*—Nantucket's Changing Prosperity
*Poor*—Colonial Nantucket
*White Pine Series*—Early Dwellings of Nantucket
*Mixter*—Old Houses of New England
*Worth*—Development of the New England Dwelling-House

## ANTIQUES

*Crosby*—Books & Baskets, Signs & Silver of Old Time Nantucket
*Crosby*—The Spoon Primer
*Hospital Committee*—Heirloom Exhibit

## HISTORICAL

*Turner*—Argument Settlers (Chronological Record)
*Coffin*—Bank Robbery
*Thomas*—Builders of Milford
*Thomas*—Purely Local
*Committee of Commerce*—Survey of Harbour 1803
*Douglas-Lithgow*—History
*Hinchman*—Early Settlers of Nantucket
*Macy, Obed*—History of Nantucket, 1835
*Starbuck*—History of Nantucket
*Hough*—Nantucket While Under the Colony of New York
*Gardner*—Three Bricks & Three Brothers (Jos. Starbuck)
*Stackpole*—All this Author's Historical Novels
*Anderson*—The Author's Historical Novels

## JUVENILE FICTION

*Allee*—Susanna and Tristram
*Curtis*—A Little Maid of Nantucket
*Sarg*—Book for Children
*Gardner & Osborne*—Father's Gone A-Whaling
*Gardner & Osborne*—Good Wind and Good Water
*Lee*—A Quaker Girl of Nantucket
*Spear*—A Child's Diary of a Whaling Voyage

## ODDITIES

*Campbell*—Benny Cleveland's Job
*Champion*—Monograph on Nantucket
*Comstock*—Life of William Comstock, the Terrible Whaler
*Crosby*—Underground Moon
*A Proprietor*—Nest of Love Disturbed
*P. N.*—The Newbegins
*Murphey*—Whaling Voyage on Ship Dauphin

## NANTUCKET'S FIRST TEA PARTY

*Freehafer*—Nantucket Ghost Walks Again
*Wentworth*—Tea Party
*Inquirer & Mirror*—Nantucket's First Tea
*Tittle*—First Nantucket Tea Party
*Sanford*—Manuscript "The Idyll" (Tea Party)

# CHECK LISTS OF WRITINGS ABOUT NANTUCKET

This is a list of Books and Pamphlets relating to Nantucket which attempts to be nearly complete as to the early items and also to include most of the later writings up to this date. An exception is that the following are intentionally omitted:

Most early writings of missionaries and preachers who visited the Island for conversion of the Indians or Quaker meetings, most genealogies, and considerable recent poetry and fiction.

Note:—*Abbreviations*

N—Nantucket
N. H. Assn.—Nantucket Historical Association
Pro.—Proceedings
Bul.—Bulletin
Coll.—Collections
I. & M.—Inquirer & Mirror
M. H. Soc.—Massachusetts Historical Society

Following this is a miscellaneous list of many articles from periodicals and clippings from papers, being a casual gathering during many years.

The arrangements are alphabetical by Authors, and also by Titles.

Marie Coffin has been of greatest assistance in putting the list together as well as with other details.

Finally are noted the twelve important maps of the Island.

## Authors

### A

Albertson, Alice O.—*Nantucket Wild Flowers*
G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921

Albertson, Alice Owen—*Maria Mitchell*
The Vassar Quarterly. (Pamphlet)

Allee, Marjorie H.—*Susanna and Tristram*
Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1929

Allen, Orrin Peer—*The Allen Memorial*
C. B. Fiske & Co., Palmer, Mass. 1905

Allen, Walter—*A Memoir of George Bruce Upton*
David Clapp & Son, Boston, 1875

American Art Ass'n. Auction Catalog 1938—*Peter Weld Stevens Mansion*

American Museum—*Whaling* page 348; *Gulf Stream* page 213; *Earthquake* page 596
Mathew Carey, Philadelphia, 1789

Amory, Thomas C.—*The Life of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, Baronet*
Cupples, Upham and Company, Boston, 1886

Anderson, Florence Bennett (also see Bennett)—*A Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin*
The Meador Press, Boston, Mass. 1940

Anderson, Florence Bennett (also see Bennett)—*Through the Hawes-Hole*
The MacMillan Company, New York, 1932

Ashley, Clifford W.—*The Yankee Whaler*
Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1938 (popular edition)

Aspinwall, Marguerite—*The Wind from Spain*
The Century Company, New York, 1930

Austin, Jane G.—*Nantucket Scraps*
James R. Osgood & Company, Boston, 1883
Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1896

Austin, John Osborne—*One Hundred and Sixty Allied Families*
Providence, R. I., 1893

B

Babbitt, Mary K.—*Maria Mitchell as Her Students Knew Her*
Pamphlet, N. D.

Babcock, Edwina Stanton—*Nantucket Windows*
The I. & M. Press, Nantucket Island, Mass., 1924

Bailey, Temple—*The Trumpeter Swan*
The Penn Publishing Company, Philadelphia, 1920

Baker, Louise S.—*By the Sea*
R. B. Hussey, Printer, 1893

Baker, Rev. Louise S.—*Eunice Hussey*
The I. and M. Press, Nantucket, 1938
First edition 1895

Baldwin, James and Livengood—*Sailing the Seas*
American Book Company, 1920

Barber, J. W.—*Historical Collections*
Dorr, Howland & Co., Worcester, 1839

Barney, Matthew—*Waves from Nantucket*
Poems 1892

Bates, Sylvia Chatfield—*The Geranium Lady*
Frontispiece by R. W. Crosby, New York, 1916

Bauer, John I. H.—*An American Genre Painter—Eastman Johnson 1824-1906*
Copyright 1940—Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, Brooklyn Museum

Baxter, Charlotte P.—*The Legend of Wauwinet*
I. and M. Press, N. D. (Read at meeting in 1876)

Bell, Mrs. N. S.—*Pathways of the Puritans*
Old America Co., Framingham, Mass., 1930

Bellamy, Edward—*Six to One; a Nantucket Idyl*
G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1878

Bennett, Florence Mary (Mrs. Louis Francis Anderson)—*An Off-Islander*
The Stratford Company, Boston, 1921

Bennett, Florence Mary (Mrs. Louis Francis Anderson)—*Spindrift*
The Mosher Press, Portland, Me., 1930

Bicknell, Eugene P.—*Ferns and Flowering Plants of Nantucket*
Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club, Vol. 35, No. 2, February, 1908

Bliss, Wm. Root—*Quaint Nantucket*
Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1896

Bliss, Wm. Root—*September Days on Nantucket*
Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1902

Bradford, G. L., and others—*Barnacles & Bilge Water*
Reynolds Printing, New Bedford, 1941

Bramlette, Paula, and Yates, Margaret—*The Widow's Walk*
E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York City, 1945

Brock, Jethro C.—*A List of Persons from Nantucket Now in California*
Published by Jethro C. Brock, Nantucket, January 1, 1850

Brock, Susan E.—*Doubling Cape Horn*
I. and M. Press, Nantucket Island, Mass., 1926

Brooks, Josephine Smith—*Twilight Harbor*
Privately published. Inquirer and Mirror. N.D.

Brooks, W. Sprague—*A Preliminary List of Birds of Nantucket*
Maria Mitchell Assn. Pamphlet, 1929

Brown, Abram English—*John Hancock, His Book*
Lee & Shepard, Publishers, Boston, 1898

Brown, W. Frederick—*The Songs of a Wanderer*
W. C. Penfold & Co. Ltd., Sydney, Australia, 1928

Bruff, Nancy—*The Manatee*
E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York, 1945

Bullard, John M.—*Joseph Rotch in Nantucket and Dartmouth*
Published by The Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1931

Burke, William—*Memoir of William Burke*
Case, Tiffany and Company, Hartford, 1837

## C

Campbell, Joseph A.—*Benny Cleveland's Job*
I. and M. Press, Nantucket, Nov. 12, 1910

Carlisle, Mrs. George L.—*Tristram Coffin*
Typed. Nantucket, Mass., 1925

Carmen, Bliss—*The Path to Sankaty*
Poem

Cary, William S.—*Wrecked on the Feejees (compiled from Cary's log-book)*
The I. and M. Press, 1922

Chalkley, Thomas—*The Works of Thomas Chalkley*
Printed by James Phillips, London, 1791 (5th edition)

Chamberlain, Samuel—*Nantucket, a Camera Impression*
Hastings House, New York, 1939

Champion Coated Paper Co.—*Monograph on Nantucket*
April 26, 1921

Chase, A. M.—*Peril at the Spy Nest*
Dodd, Mead, New York, 1943

Chase, Owen—*Narrative of the Most Extraordinary and Distressing Shipwreck of the Whale-Ship Essex, of Nantucket*
1st. edition. Published by W. B. Gilley, 92 Broadway, J. Seymour, Printer, New York, 1821

Chase, Owen—*The Loss of the Essex—in the Mariner's Chronicle*
Publ. by A. B. Wilcox, New Haven, 1834

Chase, Owen—*The Loss of the "Essex"*
The I. and M. Press, Nantucket, 1935

Chase, Owen—Narrative of the *Wreck of the Whale-Ship Essex*
Printed in Great Britain by the Golden Cockerel Press, London, 1935

Chatterton, E. Keble—*Whalers and Whaling*
J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1926

Cheever, Rev. Henry T.—*The Whale and its Captors*
Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1850

Church, Albert Cook—*Whale Ships and Whaling*
W. W. Norton & Co., Publishers, New York, 1938

Clark, Imogene—*Victory of Ezry Gardner*
Crowell, New York, 1896

Coffin, Allen, L.L.B.—*The Life of Tristram Coffin*
Published by Hussey & Robinson, 1881

Coffin, Blanche Hazelton—*Rosemary for Remembrance*
Peabody Check and Printing Co., Boston, Mass., 1927

Coffin, Charles F.—*Life of Elijah Coffin*
1863

Coffin, I. Gardner—*The Oldest House on Nantucket Island*
Charles Francis Press, New York, 1905
The A. V. Haight Company, Poughkeepsie, 1911

Coffin, Levi—*Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*
Western Tract Society, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1876

Coffin, N.—*America, an Ode;* and Other Poems
Simpkins, Boston, 1843

Coffin, Capt. R. F.—*Old Sailor Yarns*
New York, 1884

Coffin, William A.—*Miscellaneous Poems*
Hudson: Press of Ashbel Stoddard, 1833

Coffin, William and Albert Gardner, Esq's.—*Narrative of the Robbery of the Nantucket Bank* (June 20, 1795)
Henry Clapp, Nantucket, 1816

Coggeshall, George—*An Historical Sketch of Commerce and Navigation*
George P. Putnam, New York, 1860

Coleman, G. P.—*An Island Idyll*
New England Magazine, February, 1907

Collyer, Rev. Robert—*An Idyl from Nantucket*
Thomas R. Knox & Co., New York, 1885

Committee of Commerce and Manufacturers—Report of *Survey of the Harbour in the Island of Nantucket*
7th November, 1803

Comstock, William—*Life of Samuel Comstock,* the Terrible Whaleman
Publishers, James Fisher, 71 Court St., Boston, 1840

Cook, R. H.—*Historical Notes of the Island of Nantucket*
Nantucket, July, 1871

Crapo, T.—*Strange, but True*
Capt. T. Crapo, New Bedford, 1893

CREVECOEUR—NOTE—There are some fourteen editions of the Farmer's Letters published from 1782 to 1793 in England, Ire-

land, France, Germany and America. The first in each of these countries, and a few others, are noted below, the London 1783 edition because it contained added material and corrections, and the French 1787, which was much more amplified. The modern inexpensive Everyman's Library edition, with its preface and notes, is recommended as containing much information.

Crèvecoeur, Michel Guillaume St. Jean de
  St. John, J. Hector—*Letters from an American Farmer*
    1st edition: London, printed for Thomas Davies in Russel Street, Covent-Garden, and Lockyer Davis in Holborn, 1782
  St. John, J. Hector—*Letters from an American Farmer*
    John Exshaw in Grafton Street near Suffolk Street, Dublin, 1782
  St. John, J. Hector—*Letters from an American Farmer*
    A New Edition with an accurate index, London, 1783
  St. John, J. Hector—*Letters from an American Farmer*
    Printed by James Magee at the Bible and Crown No. 9 Bridge-Street. Belfast, 1783
  St. John de Crèvecoeur—*Lettres d'un Cultivateur Amèricain*
    Paris, 1787 (3 volumes). 1st French edition 1784 (2 volumes)
  St. John, J. Hektor—*Sittliche Schilderungen von Amerika*
    Liegnitz und Leipzig, D. Siegert, 1784
  St. John, J. Hector—*Letters from an American Farmer*
    From the Press of Mathew Carey, Philadelphia, March 4, 1793 (1st American edition)

Crosby, Everett U.—*95% Perfect*
  I. & M. Press, 1937
  2nd edition including *Nantucket's Changing Prosperity—Future Probabilities,* 1944

Crosby, Everett U.—*Nantucket's Changing Prosperity—Future Probabilities*
  I. & M. Press, 1939

Crosby, Everett U.—*Books and Baskets, Signs and Silver of Old-Time Nantucket*
  I. & M. Press, 1940

Crosby, Everett U.—*Nantucket's Underground Moon*
Pages 21-25 N. H. Assn. Pro. 1941
Crosby, Everett U.—*Discoverers of Nantucket*
1943 (leaflet)

Crosby, Everett U.—*Eastman Johnson at Nantucket*
1944

Crosby, Everett U.—*The Spoon Primer*
The I. and M. Press, Nantucket, Massachusetts, U.S.A., 1941

Crosby, Margaret—*A Violin Obligato*
(poems) Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1891

Crosby, Margaret—*An Islander*
Scribner's Magazine, June, 1887

Crukshank, Joseph—*A Journal of the Life, Travels and Labours in the Work of the Ministry, of John Griffith*
London printed: Philadelphia re-printed by Joseph Crukshank in Market Street, 1780

Cunningham, Caroline—*Nibs, The Story of a Field Mouse*
I. and M. Press, Nantucket, 1931

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### Y

Yankee Whaler, The—*Ashley*
You Fight for Treasure—*Stackpole*

## MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES AND CLIPPINGS

This is a listing of the author's casual collection of clippings, pamphlets, articles from periodicals, etc., relating to Nantucket, not judged important enough to include in the preceding main index, yet occasionally offering data of interest, especially to those pursuing a special subject.

Obviously they constitute but a few of a vast number of similar items which have appeared in past years.

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N. E. Magazine, September, 1906

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    Todd Bros., Washington, D. C., 1877

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    N. E. Galaxy, June 9, 1826

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    Knowles, Vose and Company, Providence, 1838

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# MAPS

The name of Nantucket on early maps has been discussed in Part I. They were mostly from European atlases and gave no information about the Island.

It was not until the last quarter of the 18th. century that the Island itself began to be depicted in detail and from that time up to the Bird's Eye View of 1881 there are twelve maps of importance, which constitute the following list. To these may be added the other maps in the American Pilot. (See 1791 below.)

c. 1772. Map of the Island of Nantucket.

From the book titled "Letters From an American Farmer" by Crèvecoeur. Published, London 1782. The letters are dated Nantucket, 1772, and the map is stated therein to have been "drawn by Dr. James Tupper, son of the sheriff of the Island." 8½ x 11½ in.

1776. Nantucket Island.

By I. F. W. Des Barres, Esq. From Atlantic Neptune Atlas. Surveyed for the English Government. Consists of two large sheets, each about 31 x 21 inches.

1791. Chart of Nantucket Shoals, by Capt. Paul Pinkham. 19½ x 30½ inches. Published by John Norman, Newbury Street, Boston, 1791. This contains much data certified by Nantucket authorities. It is the best and rarest of the old maps of Nantucket alone.

Norman published an atlas, called The American Pilot, in 1794, which included this map and also one of the New England coast made of several adjoining sheets, one of which 15½ x 20, showed Nantucket and surrounding waters. It was titled "Chart from New York to Timber Island including Nantucket Shoals from latest surveys."

The American Pilot had several editions. The one of 1798 included a "Chart from Hollands Surveys of the Coast of New England" which showed Nantucket and was published by Norman. A later American Pilot "Printed and sold by Andrew J. Allen, 66 State Street, Boston, E. C. Beal printer" contained a similar map of the N. E. Coast "from South Shoal to Cape Sable, from Holland's surveys." This map was dated 1812.

1834. Map of the Town of Nantucket by Wm. Coffin, Jr. Published by H. Clapp, Nantucket.

This is the famous street map of unusual accuracy as to shape of houses and house lots, and with much data. About 24 x 34 inches.

1838. Map of the Island of Nantucket by Wm. Mitchell. Lithographer E. W. Bouve, Boston. About 26 x 36 inches.

The first large size map of local origin and of considerable accuracy.

1846. Section of Town Destroyed by Fire, July 13, 1846.

Drawn by S. H. Jenks, Jr., Bufford & Cos. Lith., Boston. 14 x 16½ inches.

1846. Nantucket Inquirer—Issue of July 24, 1846.

The first page shows a map of burnt district, of which the block was cut from a leather carriage boot. The newspaper office had been destroyed. Another page of the paper is printed on reverse side. 17 x 23 inches.

1848. Nantucket Harbor. U.S.A. Government Survey directed by A. D. Bache.

The first accurate survey.

1856. Folding map of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard with adjacent coasts. In the book "Papers Relating to Nantucket", etc. by Franklin B. Hough. About 8 x 10 inches.

1858. Map of Counties of Barnstable, Dukes and Nantucket.

Engraved by H. F. Wallings, 90 Fulton Street, New York. Published by D. R. Smith & Co., 106 Washington Street, Boston.

A large map about 60 x 60 inches. Shows Nantucket in lower right, above which is a street map of the town and business directory. In upper left corner are views of Pacific Bank and Methodist Church.

1869. Historical Map of Nantucket, by the Rev. F. C. Ewer, D. D.

The Major & Knapp, Eng. Mfg. & Lith. Co., 71 Broadway, N. Y.

The first issue had historical data through 1865. This is the largest, best-known and most useful Nantucket map, with important recording of old roads, Indian place-names and Proprietors'

set-offs. There were a number of printings, the first as above. Subsequent issues were by J. Ottmann, Lith., N. Y. 43 x 28 inches.

1881. Bird's Eye View of the Town of Nantucket. Published by J. J. Stoner, Madison, Wis. 23 x 31 inches.

Surprisingly accurate views of all the houses. Four marginal views of hotels; one of Siasconset and one of Sankaty Head Lighthouse.

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